

Nove radiokarbonske datacije skeletnih in žganih grobov s prazgodovinskega grobišča Dobova – Gomilice

Prehistoric cemetery of Dobova – Gomilice: new radiocarbon dating evidence on inhumation and cremation burials

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Izvleček

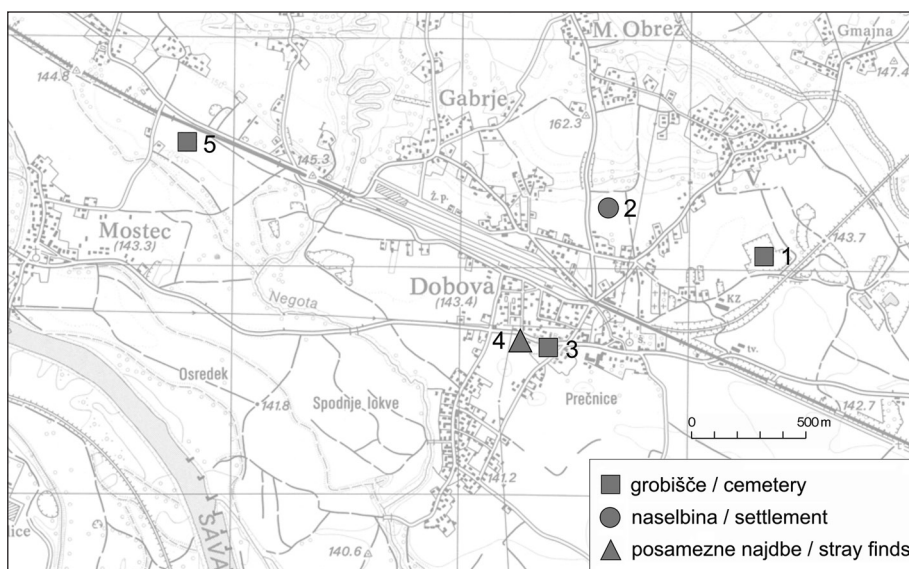
Šele v zadnjem desetletju so bili objavljeni prvi rezultati radiokarbonskih analiz vzorcev z grobišč pozne bronaste dobe na Slovenskem, kar je omogočilo natančnejši vpogled v absolutno kronologijo obdobja med 13. in 9. st. pr. n. št. na območju jugovzhodnih Alp. Prazgodovinsko grobišče v Dobovi spada zaradi velikega števila odkritih grobov in predvsem kontinuitete pokopavanja vse od pozne bronaste do zgodnje železne dobe med pomembnejše nekropole v regiji. V članku so predstavljene prve radiokarbonske analize žganih in nežganih kosti z grobišča Dobova – Gomilice. Radiokarbonska datacija vzorca iz groba 289 je potrdila njegovo starost v 12. st. pr. n. št. Na območju dobovske nekropole z žarnimi oz. žganimi grobovi je bilo najdenih tudi osem skeletnih grobov. Rezultati radiokarbonskih analiz skeletnih grobov 97, 202, 305a in 354a ter neposredno na njih navezanih žganih grobov 305 in 354 jasno nakazujejo, da so prav vsi iz pozne bronaste dobe. Presenetljivo je, da pri dvojnih pokopih, skeletnih in žganih, ne gre za sočasne biritualne grobove, temveč za sekundarne pokope nežganih ostankov.

Ključne besede: Dobova; plano žgano/žarno grobišče; skeletni grobovi; biritualni grobovi; pogrebni običaji; pozna bronasta doba; datacije ¹⁴C; antropološka analiza

Abstract

The first radiocarbon dates of the Late Bronze Age burials in Slovenia, published roughly in the last decade, have provided a more precise insight into the absolute chronology of the time between the 13th and the 9th century BC in the south-eastern Alpine area. The prehistoric burial site at Dobova represents one of the most important necropolises in the region because of the large number of unearthened graves and, above all, because of the continuity of burial from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Ages. This paper presents the first radiocarbon dates of the cremated and inhumed bones from the site. The radiocarbon dating result for the sample from cremation Grave 289 confirmed its absolute chronological position in the 12th century BC. The urnfield necropolis at Dobova mostly revealed cremation burials, but also eight inhumations. The radiocarbon dates for inhumation Graves 97, 202, 305a and 354a, as well as cremation Graves 305 and 354 that were closely associated with the last two cited cremations, clearly show they all date to the Late Bronze Age. Surprisingly, the associated inhumation and cremation burials were found not to be contemporary biritual burials, as the inhumations appear to be later than the cremations.

Keywords: Dobova; flat cremation/urn cemetery; inhumations; biritual burials; funerary practice; Late Bronze Age; ¹⁴C dating; anthropological analysis



Sl. 1: Bronastodobna in starejšeeželeznodobna najdišča v Dobovi in okolici.

Fig. 1: Bronze and Early Iron Age sites at Dobova and its surroundings.

1 – Gomilice; 2 – Osnovna šola Jožeta Toporišiča; 3 – Humek, Humekova hiša; 4 – Bencinska črpalka; 5 – Sela pri Dobovi, Savnikova gramoznica.

Vrsta prvih radiokarbonskih datacij iz pozno-bronastodobnih naselbin in grobov, objavljenih v zadnjem desetletju, je temeljito dopolnila kronologijo obdobja med 13. in 9. st. pr. n. št. na območju jugovzhodnih Alp.¹ Večina vzorcev izvira iz naselbinskih kontekstov, manj je bilo datiranih vzorcev iz grobov zgodnje in starejše faze žarnogrobišnega obdobja. Razmerje med naselbinskimi in grobnimi konteksti ne preseneča, saj so bili grobovi v času stopenj Bd D in Ha A1–A2 redki.² Med redka grobišča tega časa spada tudi grobišče na Gomilicah v Dobovi, ki pa od preostalih nekropol v regiji ne odstopa samo zaradi velikega števila odkritih poznobronastodobnih grobov, temveč tudi zaradi izpričane kontinuitete pokopavanja skozi celotno pozno bronasto dobo vse do začetka zgodnje železne dobe. Kot tako je bilo poleg ljubljanskega grobišča na Dvorišču SAZU ključno za relativno kronologijo oz. periodizacijo

dobovske žarnogrobišne skupine, ki do zdaj sicer ni bila podprta z rezultati radiokarbonskih analiz. V članku torej predstavljamo prve rezultate radiokarbonskih analiz tako žganih kot nežganih kosti z grobišča Dobova – Gomilice.

Posebnost dobovskega grobišča je tudi odkritje osmih skeletnih grobov na prostoru sicer prostrane žgane oz. žarne nekropole. Da bi preverili starost skeletnih grobov iz Dobove in tudi njihovo kronološko relacijo glede na žgane pokope iz domnevno istih grobov, smo kostne ostanke iz skeletnih grobov 97, 202, 305a in 354a ter z njimi neposredno povezanih žganih grobov 305 in 354 poslali na radiokarbonsko analizo v Kiel (Leibniz Labor für Altersbestimmung und Isotopenforschung, Christian-Albrechts-Universität). Dejstvo, da so bili na omenjenem grobišču Gomilice v Dobovi odkriti tudi rimski in zgodnj srednjeveški skeletni grobovi,³ namreč ni izključevalo možnosti, da so nekateri izmed teh skeletnih grobov morda mlajši. Pridobljeni rezultati omenjenih štirih radiokarbonskih analiz nežganih kosti so potrdili njihovo datacijo v pozno bronasto dobo. Poleg teh smo na radiokarbonsko analizo v Kiel poslali tudi vzorec žgane kosti iz dobovskega groba 289, saj gre v tem

¹ Večina rezultatov radiokarbonskih analiz za ta čas je zbrana v monografiji Teržan, Črešnar (ur.) 2014 s prispevki posameznih avtorjev in celovitim pregledom za bronasto dobo Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 689–702. Po letu 2014 so bili novi radiokarbonski rezultati objavljeni predvsem v zbirki *Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije*. Za posamezne nove datacije glej tudi Grahek 2017, 108, op. 11, sl. 5; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, sl. 3, 6, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, tab. 2; Škvor Jernejčič, Leghissa, Brezigar 2022, sl. 24; Kramberger 2024, 571–575, sl. 15, 19–20; Sankovič 2024, sl. 6–7; Bricelj 2024, sl. 10–11; glej tu Leghissa, Plestenjak; Kramberger.

² Glej pri Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 134–139, sl. 17.

³ Stare 1958–1959a, 279; Stare 1958–1959b, 287; Petru 1960–1961, 239–240; Škaler 1960–1961a, 203–204; Škaler 1962–1964, 191–192; Škaler 1965, 198; Knez 1967, 392; Petru 1969.

primeru za enega najbogatejših grobov v okviru žarnih grobišč na nadregionalni ravni, mnenja o njegovi relativni dataciji pa ostajajo različna (glej v nadaljevanju).

PRAZGODOVINSKA NEKROPOLA DOBOVA – GOMILICE

Poznobronastodobna grobišča v Dobovi (*sl. 1: 1,3,5*) so se razprostirala jugovzhodno, južno in zahodno od sočasne naselbine, raziskane pri Osnovni šoli Jožeta Toporišiča (*sl. 1: 2*; Plestenjak et al. 2014; Plestenjak 2016; Dular 2021, 453–454, *sl. 121C/1*).⁴ Med večja spada žgana nekropola na območju ledine Gomilice (*sl. 1: 1*) jugovzhodno od naselbine, kjer je bilo odkritih več kot štiristo žganih prazgodovinskih grobov in, kot bo prikazano podrobneje v nadaljevanju, tudi osem skeletnih pokopov (Stare 1975).⁵ Zahodno od naselbine so bili v Savnikovi gramoznici v Selah pri Dobovi odkriti posamezni žgani, najverjetneje starejšeželeznodobni grobovi (*sl. 1: 5*; Stare 1954a; Petru 1975a, 252; Dular 2021, 451, *sl. 221A/1*). Trije poznobronastodobni grobovi so bili prav tako najdeni na lokaciji Humek oz. Humekova hiša južno od naselbine (*sl. 1: 3*; Guštin 1982, 190–191; Guštin 1990, 16–19; Teržan 1995, 358, 360, *sl. 27*; Berden, Pavlin 2021; Dular 2021, 452, *sl. 221B/1*). Odlomki prazgodovinske keramike so bili odkriti tudi med sondiranjem pri bencinski črpalki (*sl. 1: 4*; Mason 1998).

Kmalu po monografski objavi dobovskega grobišča je poskus prve kronološke razčlenitve objavil Janez Dular (Dular 1978). Na podlagi kombinacijske analize oz. metode seriacije je razvrstil grobove v štiri kombinacijske skupine, v njih pa prepoznal štiri časovne stopnje grobišča: Dobova I/Ha A1, Dobova II/Ha A2, Dobova III/Ha B1 in Dobova IV/Ha B2 (Dular 1978, 36–38, *sl. 1, 3*). S podobno metodo, a nekoliko drugačnimi rezultati so o kronologiji dobovskega grobišča razpravljali tudi italijanski arheologi in prav tako ločili štiri faze (Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 193–198, 200–201, t. 82–85, *sl. 78–82*). Najstarejši grobovi naj

bi spadali v stopnjo Dobova I/Ha A2, najmlajši iz stopnje Dobova IV pa vse do konca pozne bronaste dobe, torej še v stopnjo Ha B3. Podobnega mnenja je bil tudi Pare, ki je začetek dobovskega grobišča datiral v stopnjo Ha A2/Dobova I–II, stopnjo Dobova III je enačil s Ha B1, najmlajšo stopnjo Dobova IV pa s Ha B3 (Pare 1998, 405, tab. 5). Dularjevo kronološko razčlenitev je komentirala tudi B. Teržan in začetke dobovskega grobišča videla v stopnji Ha A2. Problematična se ji je zdela kronološka opredelitev stopenj Dobova I in II, saj v njej ni prepoznala kronološkega sosledja, temveč bolj razlike v sočasni ženski in moški noši (Teržan 1995, 338–339, 359–360; Teržan 1999, 138), na možnost česar je v svoji kronološki študiji sicer opozoril že Dular (Dular 1978, 34). Pripombe k določitvi stopnje Dobova II je dal tudi Peter Turk, ki je opozoril na širšo kronološko pozicijo nosilnega predmeta te stopnje – igel s čebuličasto glavico in odebeljenim okrašenim vratom – ter na možnost enačenja najstarejših grobov z obdobjem II. horizonta depojev (Turk 1996, 119–120). Trenutno se zdi, da je takšna možnost dejansko najverjetnejša in da lahko bolj ali manj sočasne grobove združene stopnje Dobova I in II umestimo v celotno obdobje Ha A oz. v čas 12. in prve polovice 11. st. pr. n. št.⁶

ŽARNI GROB 289 Z GROBIŠČA DOBOVA – GOMILICE

V projekt radiokarbonskih analiz nežganih in žganih kosti iz Dobove smo vključili tudi vzorec iz groba 289. Žgani kostni ostanki so bili skupaj s pridatki najdeni v posodi z izlivkom, pokriti z latvico (*sl. 2: 1–2*). Po izsledkih antropološke analize, objavljene v monografiji, naj bi bila v grobu pokopana odrasla oseba, umrla med 20. in 25. letom starosti, spola ni bilo mogoče določiti

⁴ Za topografski oris Dobove v bronasti dobi glej Berden, Pavlin 2021, 198, *sl. 1*; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 12–13, *sl. 7*.

⁵ Grobišče je bilo posthumno objavljeno s strani Mitje Guština v monografiji Posavskega muzeja Brežice (Stare 1975). Za posamezne predhodne notice in članek glej citate pri Petru 1975b, 251; Berden, Pavlin 2021, 198, op. 112; Dular 2021, 457, *sl. 224/1*.

⁶ Poglobljena kronološka študija celotnega dobovskega grobišča, ki je zagotovo deziderat stroke, bi presegla okvir tega prispevka. Možnost zgodnejšega začetka dobovskega grobišča in ponovne razdelitve stopenj Dobova I in II ter prav tako njihove razmejitev z naslednjo stopnjo Dobova III mora tako ostati odprta. K problemu metodološke narave pri Dularjevi kronološki periodizaciji (glej zgoraj) dodajamo, da bi po našem mnenju le temeljita študija dobovske keramike (poleg novih radiokarbonskih analiz) ponudila odgovore na številna kronološka vprašanja, saj so bili kovinski pridatki najdeni le v petini vseh grobov (Teržan 1999, *sl. 9a*), zato metoda seriacije predvsem bronastih pridatkov ni optimalna za periodizacijo grobišča.

(sl. 5; Piontek, Tomazo-Ravnik, Štefančič 1975, tabela A). Izsledki novejšje antropološke analize predpostavljajo, da naj bi šlo morda za nekoliko mlajšo, juvenilno osebo, staro 13–19 let, spol prav tako ni bil določen. Na kosteh so bile opažene tvorbe, nastale zaradi vnetja, ki v času smrti še ni bilo pozdravljeno (sl. 5).⁷ Med sežganimi človeškimi kostmi so bili po izsledkih arheozoološke analize tudi štirje odlomki sežganih živalskih kosti (manjšega rastlinojeda).⁸ Radiokarbonsko je bil datiran vzorec žgane kosti (KIA-54730), pri čemer je rezultat 2955 ± 35/–30 BP oz. širši časovni razpon 1272–1047 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %), ožji pa 1226–1114 Cal BC (1σ – 68,5 %) (sl. 2: A; 7).

Mnenja o dataciji enega najbogatejših dobovskih grobov (sl. 2: 1–2; 3; 4) so različna. Na konec 13. oz. v 12. st. pr. n. št. ga je še pred monografsko objavo dobovskega grobišča datirala Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini in ga vzporejala z II. fazo KŽG na severu Hrvaške (1230–1100 pr. n. št.) oz. stopnjo Ha A1 (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 117; Vinski-Gasparini 1974, 12). Prav tako v stopnjo Ha A1 ga je v svoji kronološki študiji dobovskega grobišča datiral Dular, datacijo pa je pozneje povzel tudi Stane Gabrovec (Dular 1978, 37, 41; Gabrovec 1983, 56). B. Teržan je menila, da pri odlomku tordiranega loka (sl. 4: 16) ne gre za fibulo z violinskim lokom, kot je nakazala Vinski-Gasparini, temveč za ločno fibulo, zato je grob posredno datirala v Ha A2 (Teržan 1995, 339, op. 44–47). Enakega mnenja je bila tudi Sabine Pabst, ki se je v svojih študijah nagibala k dataciji dobovskega groba v Ha A2/B1 (Pabst 2008, 628; Pabst 2012, op. 113 na str. 34, op. 9 na str. 116, op. 770 na str. 230–231). Komentar o dataciji groba 289 iz Dobove je dal tudi Svend Hansen in ga datiral v stopnjo Ha B (Hansen 1994, 242, op. 50–51). Kot argument za nižjo datacijo je navedel predvsem polmesečasta obeska (sl. 4: 12–13; glej v nadaljevanju). Enako, v stopnjo Ha B1, so ta grob datirali tudi italijanski arheologi (Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 194, sl. 78).

Žarni grob 289 spada med bogatejše grobove na dobovskem grobišču ne le po izjemnem številu grobnih pridatkov, temveč tudi zaradi prisotnosti posameznih nakitnih elementov, kot so obeski/amuleti, steklena jagoda, ovratnici z obročki in manšetne zapestnice (sl. 3–4).⁹ Edinstvena je tudi

kombinacija ovratnic, zapestnic in fibule, ki se na celotnem grobišču, na katerem so pokopavali kar pet stoletij, pojavi le v tem grobu.¹⁰ Kombinacije ovratnice, zapestnice in fibule ne najdemo niti v dobovskem grobu H, ki ga z grobom 289 sicer povezujeta predrta manšetna zapestnica in ovratnica z bronastimi obročki (Stare 1975, t. 3: 1–10). Izjemno je tudi število ovratnic, saj jih je bilo v grob pridanih kar sedem (sl. 3).¹¹ Dobovskemu grobu po številu ovratnic v širšem prostoru ne najdemo primerjav (npr. Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 178–179, sl. 12).¹² Opomnimo na novoobjavljeni grob 3 z Obrežja, v katerem je bilo prav tako najdenih več ovratnic skupaj z votlim obeskom¹³ in odlomkom tordiranega loka fibule, ki naj bi pripadala tipu fibule z violinskim lokom (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 608, G366, G371–G375). Sežgana kost iz tega groba je bila radiokarbonsko datirana na konec 14. oz. verjetneje v prvo polovico 13. st. pr. n. št., torej gre za enega starejših grobov s setom bronastih ovratnic, ki je po radiokarbonski dataciji celo starejši od dobovskega groba 289 (sl. 6: Obrežje, gr. 3). Skoraj povsem enak je tudi rezultat datacije dvojnega groba 226 iz Kainacha pri Wildonu (sl. 6: Kainach, gr. 226), v katerem so bili odkriti manšetna zapestnica z navzven zavihanima koncema in odlomki vsaj dveh ovratnic, pri čemer

¹⁰ Takšna kombinacija nakita je bila morda tudi v dobovskem grobu 111, a zaradi fragmentiranosti tega ni mogoče z gotovostjo potrditi (Stare 1975, 30, t. 19: 3–5). Pri tem velja omeniti, da se tudi na drugih grobiščih pojavi le en grob s tako kombinacijo nakita oz. nošo, npr. na Obrežju v grobu 106 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 686–687), na Brinjevi gori – Gračiču v grobu 31 (Koprivnik 2021, 234–236, t. 12: 1,3–4; Koprivnik, Teržan 2021, 287, sl. 4: grob 31) in v Ljubljani na Dvorišču SAZU v grobu 54 (Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 176, 178, tab. 2: grob 54), vendar so ti grobovi – kot je pokazala tudi nova radiokarbonska datacija dobovskega groba 289 (sl. 2: A) – mlajši.

¹¹ V prvotni Staretovi objavi so odlomki rekonstruirani v komplet šestih ovratnic, medtem ko je v poznejši Gabrovčevi objavi predlagana rekonstrukcija v set sedmih ovratnic (Stare 1975, t. 41: 4, 5, 10; Gabrovec 1983, t. VII: 3, 5, 7, 13, 17, 22; VIII: 4).

¹² Na seznam grobov z več ovratnicami je treba dodati še grobove 3, 72 in 242 z Obrežja (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 95); za Brinjevo goro – Gračič glej zdaj še Koprivnik 2021, t. 18: 8–11.

¹³ V katalogu je navedeno, da gre morda za konico bronaste pušične osti, a se to zdi manj verjetno. Za tovrstne obeske (*trichterförmige Blechanhänger*) oz. neke vrste našitke, ki so značilni za zgodnjo in starejšo fazo KŽG, glej Jankovits 2017, 259–284, 286–287, t. 140. Tovrstni obeski/našitki so bili najdeni tudi v Ljubljani (Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 122, t. 36: 260–262).

⁷ Analizo je opravila Tamara Leskovar.

⁸ Analizo je opravil Borut Toškan.

⁹ Za kombinacije grobnih pridatkov oz. analizo pogrebnih noš na dobovskem grobišču glej Teržan 1995, 340–342, sl. 12–13; Teržan 1999, 115–116, 119, sl. 11.

je bil morda del ene uvit v zapestnico. Sodeč po antropološki analizi, sta bili v grobu pokopani dve osebi – mladostnik in otrok star 4–8 let (Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, 634–641, op. 21, tab. 1: Gr. 226; t. 1: 5,9–11).¹⁴ Tovrstne manšetne zapestnice z navzven zavihanima koncema so bile najdene tudi v bogatih otroških grobovih v Dedinki in Zurndorfu¹⁵ ter v grobu H v Dobovi (Kunstelj 2018, 201–202, sl. 1, 3 in tam citirana literatura). Slednji grob lahko neposredno navežemo na dobovski grob 289, saj so bile v obeh najdene predrtne manšetne zapestnice in ovratnice z obročki (sl. 3: 4,7; 4: 22,24,25,27). Primerjave za predrtne manšetne zapestnice¹⁶ je navedel že Janez Dular in jih primerjal s podobnimi zapestnicami s švicarskih najdišč Mels in Padnal, ki pa so datirane že v srednjo bronasto dobo in se od dobovskih primerkov delno razlikujejo po obliki in tudi po okrasu (Frei 1955; Dular 1978, 37, op. 6). Med novejšje najdbe predrtih manšetnih zapestnic spadata primerka z Obrežja (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 95–97, sl. 41: Z1). Avtorja sta datacijo dobovskih zapestnic povzela po K. Vinski-Gasparini in Dularju ter tudi obreške primerke datirala v stopnjo Ha A1.¹⁷ Vendar so ti primerki nekoliko drugačni od omenjenih, saj imajo samo dve odprtini, in ne treh, prav tako niso gladki, temveč profilirani,¹⁸ kar bi nakazovalo, da jih je ustrezneje primerjati s podobno predrto manšetno zapestnico iz mlajšega groba 186 v Dobovi (Stare 1975, t. 26: 9; Teržan 1995, 339, op. 44).

Poleg štirih predrtih manšetnih zapestnic so bile v dobovskem grobu najdene tudi štiri trakaste zapestnice s poudarjenim sredinskim rebrom (sl. 4: 15,17,19,21), v katerih je Dular prav tako prepoznal starejši element, saj jih najdemo v depojih

II. horizonta po K. Vinski-Gasparini, npr. v depoju Zagreb-Medvedgrad in v grobu iz Martijanca (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 72–73, t. 25: 8–9; 75A: 1–6; Vinski-Gasparini 1983, 571, 579, t. LXXXVII: 11–12), kar je še dokaz več, da spada obročasti nakit iz dobovskega groba 289 že v stopnjo Bd D/Ha A1.

Različna ostajajo mnenja o tipokronološki opredelitvi odlomka tordiranega loka fibule iz groba 289 (sl. 4: 16). Prva je odlomek te fibule obravnavala Vinski-Gasparini in ga vključila v

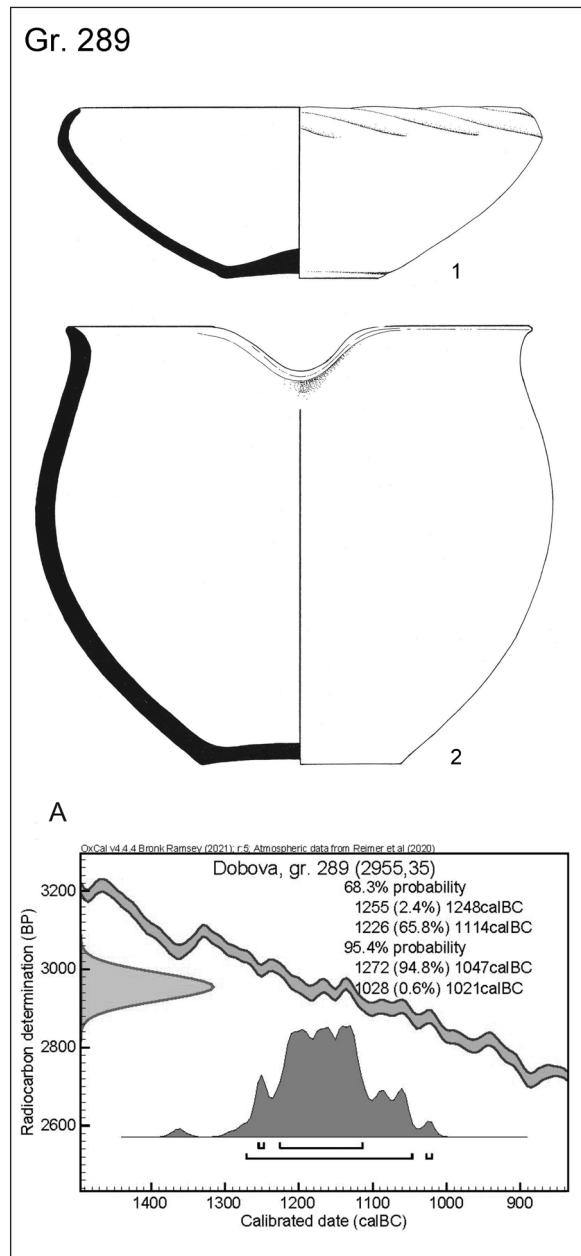
¹⁴ Po mnenju avtorjev je radiokarbonska datacija prestara, saj datirata grob v stopnjo Ha A1 (Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, 635, tab. 1).

¹⁵ V grobu v Zurndorfu je bila pokopana deklica, stara 5–7 let (Helgert 1995). Sodeč po majhnih dimenzijah obročastega nakita, je bila zelo verjetno tudi v Dedinki pokopana mlajša oseba oz. otrok (Paulik 1984).

¹⁶ Manšetna zapestnica (sl. 4: 22) je v Staretovi objavi (Stare 1975, t. 40: 16) očitno delno napačno rekonstruirana, saj ima tako kot preostali primerki takšnih zapestnic samo tri odprtine, in ne štirih.

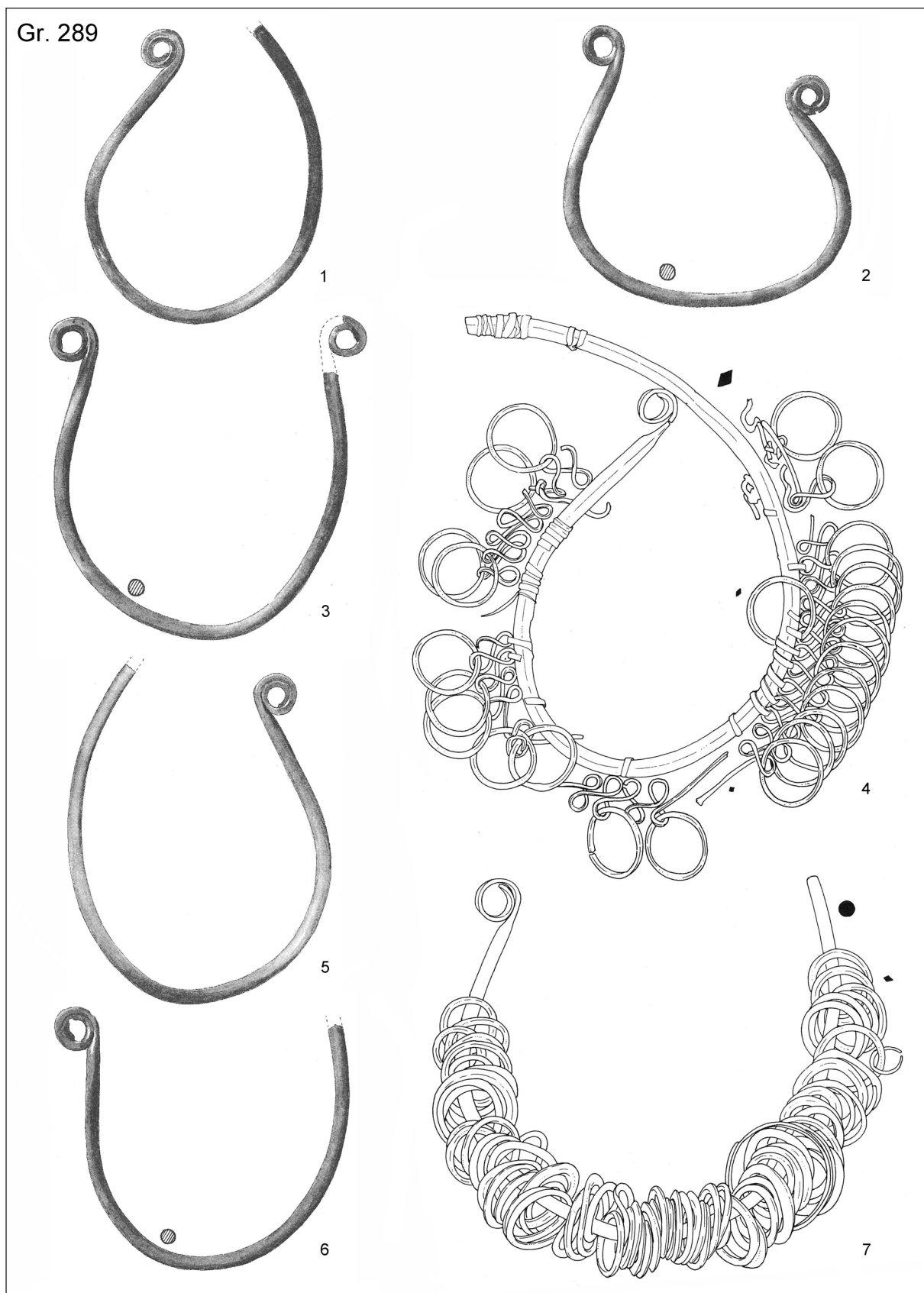
¹⁷ Radiokarbonski dataciji žgane kosti iz obreškega groba 357 s tovrstno zapestnico nista relevantni, saj je rezultat prve datacije (LTL19668A) 3274 ± 45 BP, druge (LTL21412) pa 2696 ± 45 BP (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 118, sl. 47, 60, 62, 73–74).

¹⁸ Podobno profilacijo najdemo tudi na odlomku zapestnice iz depoja Otok-Privlaka (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, t. 28: 53).



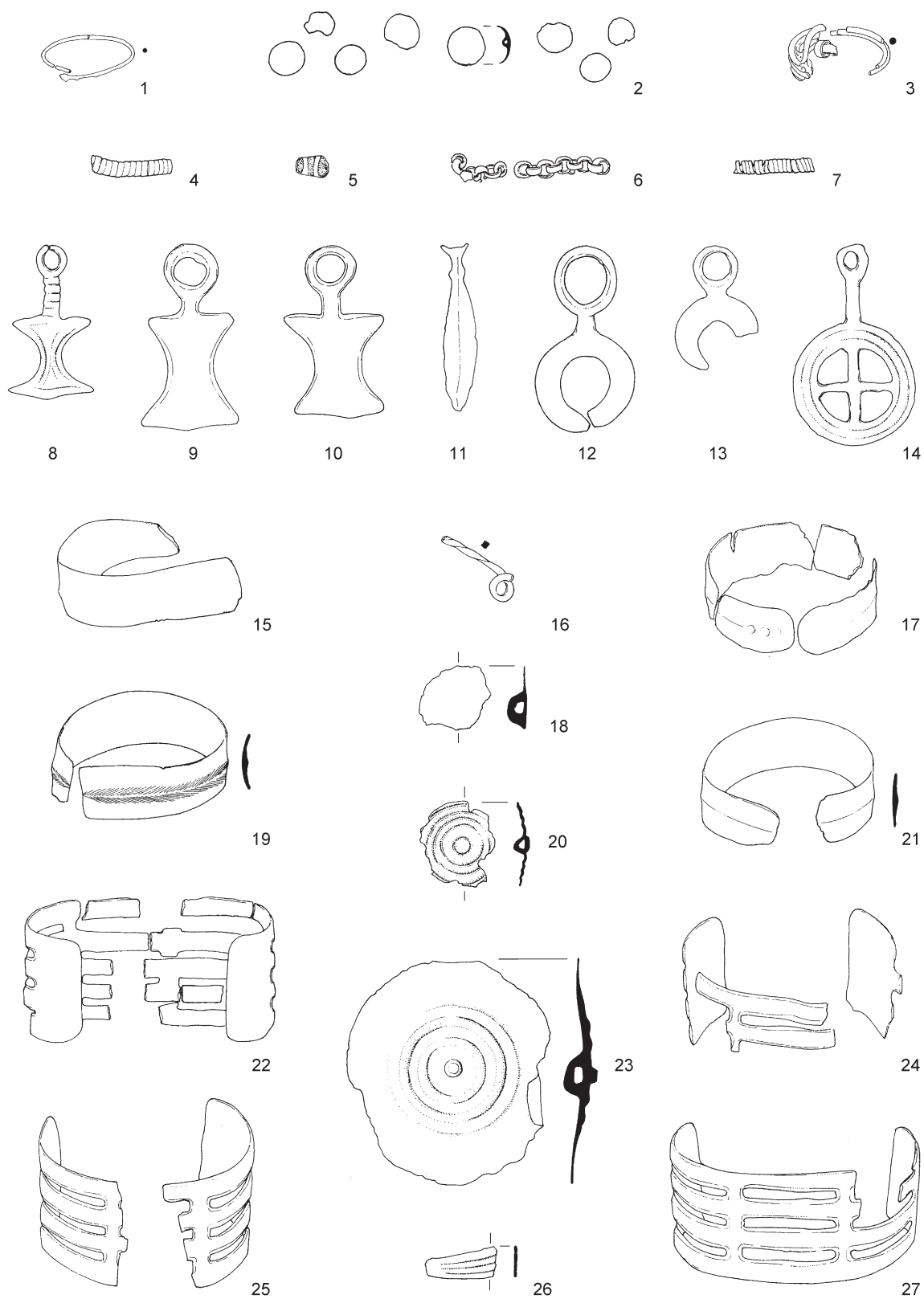
Sl. 2: Dobova – Gomilice, žgani grob 289. 1–2 keramika. M. 1–2 = 1:4 (1–2 po Stare 1975).

Fig. 2: Dobova – Gomilice, cremation grave 289. 1–2 pottery. Scale 1–2 = 1:4 (1–2 modified from Stare 1975).



Sl. 3: Dobova – Gomilice, žgani grob 289. 1–7 bron. M. 1–7 = 1:2 (1–3, 5–6 po Gabrovec 1983; 4, 7 po Stare 1975).
 Fig. 3: Dobova – Gomilice, cremation grave 289. 1–7 bronze. Scale 1–7 = 1:2 (1–3, 5–6 modified from Gabrovec 1983; 4, 7 modified from Stare 1975).

Gr. 289



Sl. 4: Dobova – Gomilice, žgani grob 289. 1–4, 6–27 bron; 5 steklo. M. = 1:2 (1–27 po Stare 1975).

Fig. 4: Dobova – Gomilice, cremation grave 289. 1–4, 6–27 bronze; 5 glass. Scale = 1:2 (1–27 modified from Stare 1975).

Grob / Grave	Inventarna številka v PMB/ inventory number in PMB	Pokop / Burial	Antropološka analiza (starost, spol) / Anthropological analysis (age, sex) Piontek, Tomazo-Ravnik, Štefančič 1975	Antropološka analiza (starost, spol) / Anthropological analysis (age, sex) T. Leskovar	Patologije / Pathology T. Leskovar
97	/	Sk / In	<i>Maturus</i> F	25–35 let / years F	izguba zob že pred smrtjo / tooth loss before death
98	/	Sk / In	/	/	/
202	P 541	Sk / In	Odrasel / Adult F	> 17 let / years, verjetno odrasel / probably adult F?	/
289	P 723	Žg / Cr	20–25 let / years Nd.	13–19 let / years Nd.	na dolgih kosteh in lobanjski kosti vidne tvorbe, ki kažejo na nespecifično vnetje, še prisotno v času smrti / specific formations on the long bones and cranial bone, indicating non-specific inflammation still present at the time of death
305a	P 738	Sk / In	Odrasel / Adult Nd.	Odrasel / Adult Nd.	/
305	P 748	Žg / Cr	<i>Infans</i> I Nd.	> 1 leto / year Nd.	/
354a	P 829	Sk / In	<i>Infans</i> II Nd.	8,5–9,5 let / years Nd.	razlika med starostjo, ocenjeno na podlagi zob in kosti, morda kaže na pomanjkanje hranil in zaostalost v rasti / the age difference, as assessed by teeth and bones, may indicate nutrient deficiencies and stunting
354	P 828	Žg / Cr	Odrasel / Adult Nd.	Odrasel / Adult Nd.	/

Sl. 5: Rezultati antropoloških analiz nežganih in žganih človeških ostankov z grobišča Dobova – Gomilice (PMB = Posavski muzej Brežice; Sk = skeletni; Žg = žgani; F = ženski; Nd. = neopredeljen).

Fig. 5: Anthropological analysis results of inhumed and cremated human remains from the cemetery at Dobova – Gomilice (PMB = Posavje Museum Brežice; In = inhumation; Cr = cremation; F = female; Nd. = not defined).

svojo študijo o fibulah z violinskim lokom v Jugoslaviji, grob 289 pa datirala v stopnjo Bd D/Ha 1 oz. na konec 13./12. st. pr. n. št. (Vinski-Gasparini 1974, 12–13, 15, sl. 1, t. VII: 1). O tej tipokronološki opredelitvi je podvomila B. Teržan, saj je menila, da gre za mlajši tip fibule, in sicer za ločno fibulo s tordiranim lokom, ter datirala dobovski grob v Ha A2 (Teržan 1995, 339, op. 44–47; glej tudi Pabst 2008, 628; Pabst 2012, op. 113 na str. 34, op. 9 na str. 116, op. 770 na str. 230–231). Razumevanje tipokronološkega razvoja fibul z violinskim tordiranim lokom ostaja oteženo, predvsem zaradi slabe ohranjenosti fibul oz. njihove fragmentiranosti. Novi primerki fibul z bolj ali manj asimetričnim, dvignjenim violinskim tordiranim lokom iz osrednje Italije sicer nakazujejo, da se je naklon loka takšnih fibul začel dvigovati najpozneje ob koncu 13.

in v prvi polovici 12. st. pr. n. št. oz. v obdobju *Bronzo recente* 2 in *Bronzo finale* 1 (Savella 2015, 19–22, 132–133, t. 10: 48–56; 11: 57–59).

Posebej velja omeniti pred kratkim objavljeni primerki fibule z ločno ukrivljenim, asimetrično dvignjenim violinskim tordiranim lokom z modernih izkopavanj naselbine Campestrin (Grignano Polesine, Rovigo) v Benečiji (Salzani et al. 2020, 37, sl. 1C: RR 21; 10: 11). Ta znova nakazuje, da je razvojna pot fibul z ravnim violinskim lokom v fibule z dvignjenim – bodisi ravnim bodisi ločno ukrivljenim – asimetričnim lokom potekala sočasno tako pri fibulah z dvema gumboma na loku kot pri fibulah s tordiranim lokom (prim. Savella 2015, 132–133; Pabst 2018, 147–153, sl. 9: 2) ter da jo moramo umestiti v že prej omenjeno obdobje konca 13. in začetka 12. st. pr. n. št. Ob povedanem se zdi mogoče v ta razvoj vključiti

tudi fragment drobne fibule s tordiranim lokom iz groba 289 v Dobovi, ki pa zaradi svoje slabe ohranjenosti ne nosi večje teže pri razpravi o poteku prej opisanih sprememb v okviru razvoja fibul z violinskim lokom.

Argument za nižjo datacijo groba na konec stopnje Ha A2 oz. Ha A2/B1 naj bi bila tudi sodčasta steklena jagoda zelene barve z belimi oz. sivimi kolobarji (sl. 4: 5). Nova sistematična študija tovrstnih jagod je pokazala, da so bile v uporabi daljše časovno obdobje, saj spadajo najstarejši primerki tako v Italiji kot drugod po Evropi že v čas 13./12. st. pr. n. št. Pogoste so bile predvsem v stopnjah Ha A2 in Ha A2/B1, med mlajše pa spadajo jagode iz kontekstov Ha B1/B2 (Bellintani, Angelini 2020, 84–91, tab. 2: tipo 12, 13). Omeniti velja steklene sodčaste jagode s kolišča Hauterive-Champréveyres na jezeru Neuchâtel z zmesjo LMHK (*low magnesium-high potassium*), ki so bile radiokarbonsko datirane v čas med 1050 in 1030 pr. n. št. Zanimivo, da sta bili – tako kot v Dobovi – dve taki jagodi najdeni skupaj z bronastimi saltaleoni, kar nakazuje, da so bili vsi skupaj nanizani na vrstico (Rychner-Faraggi 1993, 63–65, sl. XI, XV, 78, t. 115: 3–4). Dobovski jagodi najdemo najbližjo primerjavo v stekleni jagodi iz naselbine Medvode – Svetje, kjer je bila najdena v odpadni jami skupaj z odlomki keramike in spada v stopnjo Ha A (Leghissa et al. 2023, 436–437, sl. 2–4) ter je tako poleg dobovske ena starejših tovrstnih jagod na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru. Analize stekla obeh jagod so razkrile, da imata podobno sestavo, ne pa povsem enake, in da spadata zelo verjetno v skupino jagod z zmesjo LMHK (Šmit, Laharnar, Turk 2020, 8, sl. 1: 11; 5, tab. 2: 11; Leghissa et al. 2023, 439–441, sl. 7, tab. 1). Tovrstne jagode se največkrat povezuje s proizvodnimi centri v Frattesini v Padski nižini, datiranimi morda že v 12., predvsem pa v 11. in 10. st. pr. n. št. Sodeč po analizah stekla, se jagode z zmesjo LMHK v Italiji pojavijo v 12. st. pr. n. št., ko nadomestijo starejše tipe jagod z zmesjo HMG (*high magnesium glass*) (Angelini, Gratuze, Artioli 2019, 112, 114–115). Bolj ali manj sočasni okrašenim sodčastim jagodam iz Dobove in Medvod sta stekleni jagodi iz groba 57 in 60 na Limski Gradini, ki spadata v fazo Istra I (Mihovilić 1972, 29–30, 33, t. 26: 23; 30: 4–5; glej tudi Blečić Kavur 2014, 63–65, sl. 29; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2015, 15, sl. 5: 2A). Poleg jagod z zmesjo LMHK iz severne Italije je treba omeniti še jagode z moravskih najdišč Tuchoměřice in Řepín, ki so po sestavi prav tako zelo podobne frattesinskim

jagodam in so datirane v stopnjo Ha A (12. in prva polovica 11. st. pr. n. št.) (Šulová 2006; Venclová 1990, 220; Venclová et al. 2010, 561–562, 567–569, sl. 3: 736–737, 746–747, tab. 1).

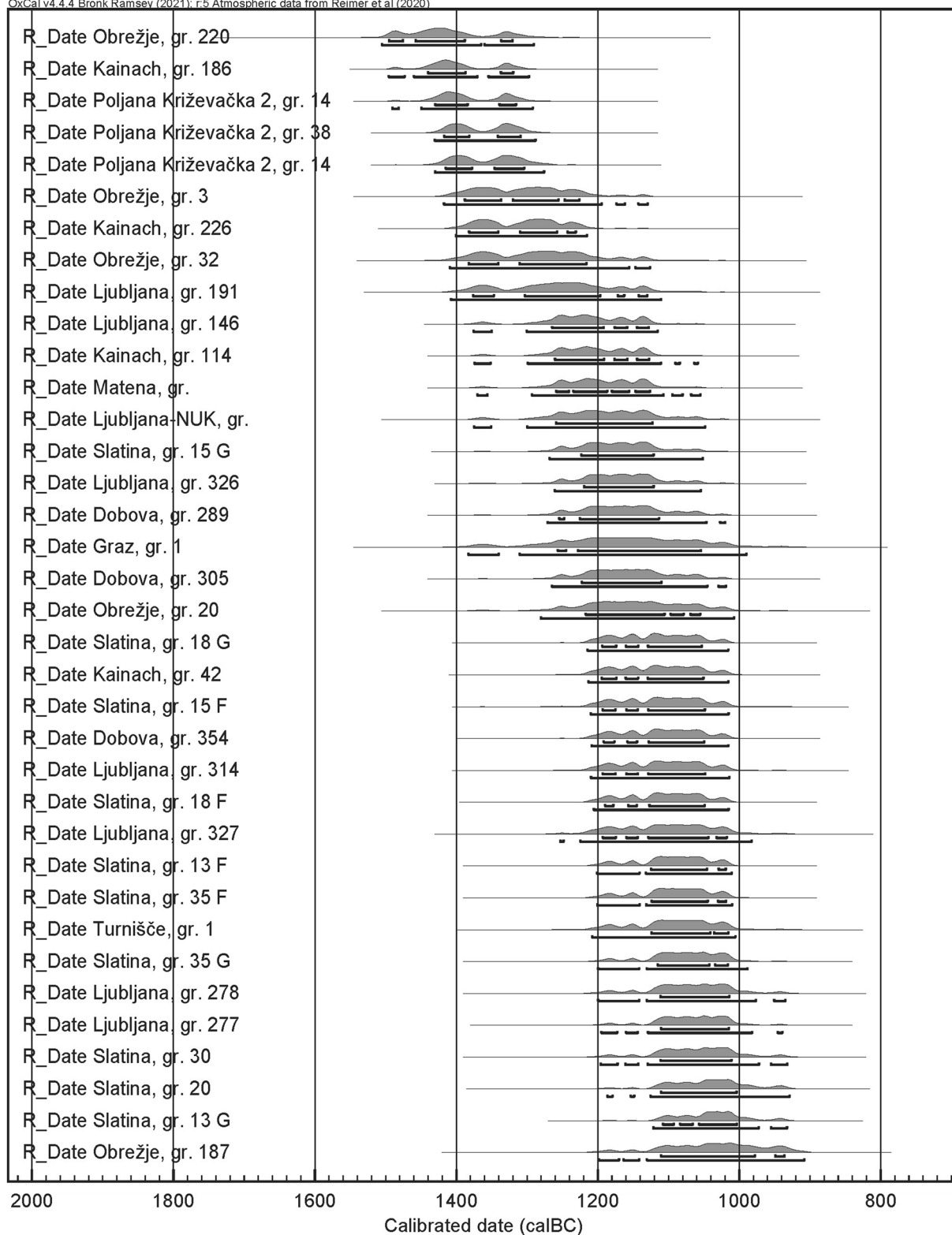
Da je bil grob 289 res izjemen, nakazujejo tudi nakitni dodatki, ki jih v zgodnjem/starejšem žarnogrobiščnem obdobju najdemo skoraj izključno v depojih. Take so na primer falere t. i. tipa Nadap-Poljanci, okrašene s koncentričnimi krogi oz. rebri (sl. 4: 23; Tarbay 2019, 371–373, 375–377, sl. 6), ki se poleg dobovskega groba pojavijo le še v grobu 8 iz Drljanovca (Majnarić-Pandžić 1988, t. VI: 1; Dular 2002, sl. 37: 8), sicer pa so bile najdene v depojih. Večje falere so kot del naglavnega nakita ali pasu pripadale ženski noši in so bile pridane v bogate grobove posamično (Teržan 2016, 296–297). Le v Dobovi in na Obrežju najdemo grobove s po dvema ali celo tremi falerami (sl. 4: 18, 20, 23; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 102, 783–785).¹⁹ V kombinaciji z gumbi, s katerimi so bili pošiti deli oblačil, jih najdemo na nekropolah v Posavju, Podravju, na Krasu in v Istri.

Povsem edinstven v grobu 289 je tudi komplet sedmih bronastih obeskov v obliki črk X-O-I, večina teh ima primerjave v številnih depojih. Pri tem je treba posebej omeniti prisotnost vsaj enega tria obeskov X-O-I (sl. 4: 8, 11, 14), ki so zagotovo izdelani v dvodelnem kalupu, primerjave pa jim najdemo skoraj izključno v depojih, medtem ko se v grobovih pojavijo v enaki kombinaciji izjemno redko, kot npr. v grobu II gomile v Dedinki na Slovaškem (Paulík 1984, 35, sl. 6A: 1–3; Paulík 1986, 94–95) in grobu 3 na grobišču v Gemeinlebarnu v Spodnji Avstriji (Szombathy 1929, 46–47, t. 16: 1, 5, 7). Omenjena kombinacija obeskov verjetno ni naključna in je bila v literaturi opisana kot "triada" simboličnih znakov, katerih pomen najbrž presega zgolj varovalno oz. magično vlogo amuletov in jih lahko povežemo z religioznimi predstavami oz. verovanji na prostoru srednjega Podonavja v času zgodnjega in starejšega obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč (prim. Schmidtová, Baxa, Paulík 2002, 286–287; Müller-Karpe 2003).

Tris O-obeskov sestavljajo en kolesast in dva različno velika polmesečasta obeska (sl. 4: 12–14). Kolesasti obsek pripada tipu Bingula-Divoš, ki ga drugje najdemo samo v depojih zgodnje in starejše faze KŽG (Pabst 2012, 410, karta 41.3; Jankovits

¹⁹ Zaradi prisotnosti treh faler ter dvakrat po dveh parov zapestnic in treh parov ovratnic v grobu 289 B. Teržan celo predpostavlja, da gre morda za pokop več oseb v istem grobu (Teržan 2016, 296).

OxCal v4.4.4 Bronk Ramsey (2021): r5 Atmospheric data from Reimer et al (2020)



Sl. 6: Radiokarbonske datacije žganih grobov Bd C–Ha A (po Škvor Jernejčič 2021, sl. 18; Mason, Kramberger 2022, sl. 47; Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018, tab. 3; Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2020, 91, 97, op. 1, 2; Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, tab. 1; Heymans 2020, 270, op. 2).

Fig. 6: Radiocarbon dating results from analysed cremation graves dating to the time between Br C and Ha A periods (according to Škvor Jernejčič 2021, fig. 18; Mason, Kramberger 2022, fig. 47; Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018, tab. 3; Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2020, 91, 97, n. 1, 2; Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, tab. 1; Heymans 2020, 270, n. 2).

2017, 185–188, t. 69: 2465, 2469, 2472). Polmesečasta²⁰ obeska sta bila, kot smo omenili, uporabljena kot argument za nižjo datacijo dobovskega groba 289 v Ha B (Hansen 1994, 242, op. 50–51), saj se v zahodnem delu srednje Evrope pojavijo večinoma v kontekstih poznega žarnogrobišnega obdobja (Kossack 1954, 76, 84, 96–97, t. 15: 15–16; 25; Wels-Weyrauch 1978, 126–127, t. 42: 748; 44: 754–761; 122: 759). Enako velja tudi za obeske z najdišča Hauterive-Champréveyres, ki so datirani v čas 1050–1030 pr. n. št. (Rychner-Faraggi 1993, 53, 70, sl. 78, t. 80: 21–24). Da so polmesečasti obeski oz. obeski v obliki britve lahko tudi starejši, pa kaže novejšo odkritje vodnjaka v Germeringu pri Münchnu, v katerem je bil najden prav tak obesek, in sicer v plasti iz stopnje Bd D2 oz. Ha A1 (Scheffzik 2012, 46, sl. 2–3, 6B: 3). V zgodnje žarnogrobišno obdobje je datiran tudi žarni grob 31 z grobišča Straubing-Königreich (Wels-Weyrauch 1991, 82, t. 28: 702). Zanimiva je predvsem njihova razprostranjenost, ki se, kot omenjeno, veže na zahodni del srednje Evrope (Kossack 1954, 96–97, t. 25; Jakob-Friesen 1969, 136, sl. 7; Pankau 2024, 70–71, sl. 16: 8, karta 4).²¹

Konveksno obliko ima tudi suličast obesek, ki ga datiramo od starejše faze KŽG vse do konca bronaste dobe (sl. 4: 11; Hansen 1994, 248–251, 607, sl. 158; Jankovits 2017, 223, 227–231, t. 77: 2930–2940; 78–79; 80: 3004; 140; Pankau 2024, 66–67, sl. 16: 3). Drugi dobovski tris sestavljajo X-obeski v obliki pečene ure različnih variant (sl. 4: 8–10). O njih je pisal Kossack, novejši študiji prinašata dopolnjen seznam najdišč (Kossack 1954, 23, 41, 97–98, t. 20; Kacsó 1995, 97–99, lista 3; Jankovits 2017, 217–222, t. 76: 2893–2907; 77: 2908–2924; 140). Seznamu bi lahko dodali še kalup za izdelavo tovrstnih izdelkov z najdišča Teleac na Sedmograškem (Ciugudean 2009, 69, t. X: 2a). Obeski v obliki pečene ure so bili v uporabi predvsem v času Bd D/Ha A oz. v zgodnjem in

starejšem žarnogrobišnem obdobju, kamor spadajo tudi obeski iz Dobove, ter so tako verjetno sočasni z najstarejšimi primerki z najdišč v vzhodnih Karpatih oz. zahodnega dela Sedmograške. V Sloveniji so znani še iz žganega groba 174/2 v Ljubljani na Dvorišču SAZU, datiranega v Ha A (Puš 1978; Puš 1982, 145, t. 49; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 146–147, sl. 4.144: 2).²² Primerki iz čermožiškega depoja ter žganih grobov iz Maribora in s Pobrežja, ki jih navaja že Kacsó, so po našem mnenju tipološko nekoliko drugačni. Prav tako sta tudi obeska iz groba v Rušah ožja, prehod iz zanke v telo obeska pa je brez "vratu" (Müller-Karpe 1959, t. 112D: 3,5). Da je višina vratu lahko tudi kronološki indikator – starejši primerki naj bi imeli višji vrat, mlajši pa krajšega –, je domnevala že Amália Mozsolics, Carol Kacsó pa je na primeru obeskov iz romunskih depojev opozoril, da imajo lahko tudi starejši primerki krajši vrat (Mozsolics 1985, 62; Kacsó 1995, 98). Obeski v obliki pečene ure so se ohranili tudi v mlajši fazi KŽG. Med mlajše spadajo prav omenjeni obeski s podravskega grobišč ter primerki z najdišč Vukovar-Lijeva bara in Dalj-Busija (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, t. 125: 10; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456–457, t. 71: 11).

Na podlagi tipokronološke analize in predvsem nove radiokarbonske datacije lahko povzamemo, da spada grob 289 najpozneje v prvo polovico 12. st. pr. n. št., v stopnjo Ha A1. Po rezultatu radiokarbonske analize je sočasen grobu 305 iz Dobove (glej v nadaljevanju) in grobu 20 z Obrežja s kroglasto žaro z luknjo, iglo s spiralno uvito glavico in obročkoma (sl. 6: Obrežje, gr. 20; Mason, Kramberger 2022, sl. 47, 59, 73–74, 616, 617: GR 20). Blizu sta tudi dataciji groba 326 z vrčem, latvico in glinenim vijčkom z Dvorišča SAZU v Ljubljani (sl. 6: Ljubljana, gr. 326; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 120–121, tab. 2, sl. 7, 18, 19, t. 1: 1–3) ter dvojnega groba odrasle ženske in otroka iz Slatine (sl. 6: Slatina, gr. 15 G; Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018, 92–93, 96–97, 102–103).²³ Sežgani ostanki otroka so bili najdeni v amfori, ki je podobna tisti iz dobovskega groba 305 (glej spodaj). Bikonični posodi – žari, v kateri so bili najdeni sežgani ostanki odrasle osebe – najdemo

²⁰ V literaturi se uporablja tudi izraz obesek v obliki britve (*Rasiermesseranhänger*). To poimenovanje nakazuje podobnost med obliko obeska in polmesečastih britev, hkrati pa odpira vprašanje o simbolni oz. uporabni funkciji tovrstnih obeskov/amuletov kot britev. Glej npr. primerek polmesečaste dvorezne britve z grobišča Hötting, ki ima na ročaju razširitev v obliki kolesastega obeska (Wagner 1943, t. 3: 10). Oblikovno podobnost izkazujejo tudi suličasti obeski in britve (npr. Jockenhövel 1980, 84–85, t. 13: 240–241).

²¹ V študiji o madžarskih obeskih ne najdemo niti enega primerka (Jankovits 2017), prav tako jih ne najdemo v depojih na Hrvaškem, kjer so sicer prisotni drugi tipi obeskov X-O-I.

²² Puš je objavil verižico z obeski kot najdbo brez grobnega konteksta. Iz arhivske dokumentacije je bilo mogoče rekonstruirati, da je bila verižica z obeski najdena v poškodovanem žganem grobu skupaj s svitkom očalaste fibule (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 76–77, t. 87: 1–2).

²³ Za grob 15 iz Slatine sta objavljeni dve radiokarbonski dataciji (groba in fina frakcija), ki se med seboj v večji meri pokrivata (sl. 6: Slatina, gr. 15 G, Slatina, gr. 15 F).

primerjave v grobu 1 iz Gradca, ki je prav tako radiokarbonsko datiran v ta čas (Heymans 2020, 269–270, 320, sl. 3–4, t. 3: Grab 1) (sl. 6: Dobova, gr. 305, Graz, gr. 1). Tej skupini grobov je treba priključiti še grobove iz Ljubljane, Matene in Kainacha pri Wildonu (sl. 6: Ljubljana, gr. 146, Ljubljana – NUK, gr., Matena, gr., Kainach, gr. 114). Številne primerjave za bronaste nakitne pridatke iz groba 289 in bogatih depojev mešane sestave medrečja Save in Drave ter redkih žganih grobov, ki smo jih navedli, vzporejajo grob 289 iz Dobove z II. fazo KŽG (1230–1100 pr. n. št.) po Vinski-Gasparini (Vinski-Gasparini 1973).

Komentar k radiokarbonski dataciji

Poleg rezultatov o starosti vzorca/konteksta objavljamo tudi podatke o vrednosti SF (*splitting factor*), vsebnosti ogljika (wt%) in vrednosti $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰) vzorcev iz žganih grobov, saj so bistveni za razumevanje, ali so pridobljeni rezultati verodostojni (sl. 7). Pri vzorcu iz groba 289 (KIA-54730) je vrednost SF > 5. To kaže, da so bile kosti kremirane (žgane pri visokih temperaturah), kar je pogoj za verodostojen rezultat. Prav tako vsebnost ogljika ne presega vrednosti 0,5 % na težo in posledično izključuje možnost, da je bil vzorec kontaminiran, kar bi seveda bistveno vplivalo na rezultat oz. radiokarbonsko datacijo. Da je pridobljeni rezultat verodostojen, nakazuje tudi vrednost $\delta^{13}\text{C}$, ki je $-26,0 \pm 0,7 \text{ ‰}$.²⁴

²⁴ Glej npr. De Mulder, Van Strydonck, Boudin, 2009, 566, kjer navajajo, da vrednost $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ni nujno dober pokazatelj kontaminacije vzorca. Vrednosti $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ med -12 in -15 ‰

PRAZGODOVINSKI SKELETNI GROBOVI Z GROBIŠČA DOBOVA – GOMILICE

Posebne pozornosti v okviru dobovskega grobišča ne zbuja zgolj eden najbogatejših grobov na jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru, temveč tudi skeletni grobovi. Do zdaj je bilo iz Staretove monografije znanih in objavljenih pet skeletnih grobov, to so 97, 98, 202, 305a in 354a (Stare 1975, 14, 29–30, 32, 34–35; Piontek, Tomazo-Ravnik, Štefančič 1975). Naša na novo opravljena analiza arhivskega gradiva v Posavskem muzeju Brežice ter objavljene predhodne notice v Varstvu spomenikov pa kažejo, da je bilo v Dobovi najdenih osem prazgodovinskih skeletnih grobov, poleg prej navedenih še grobovi 42, 45 in 210.

Skeletni grob 42

Sodeč po objavi Stareta, naj bi bila v tem ženskem grobu najdena lasna obročka s prepletom (sl. 8: 1–2; Stare 1960, 87, 95, sl. 8: 4–5). Tik nad okostjem groba 42 pa so našli fragmente treh različnih posod (sl. 8: 3–4). Po Staretovem opisu naj bi bil grob najden sredi nekropole (Stare 1960, 88). V monografski objavi so pod številko tega groba opisani pridatki z inv. št. PM124–PM127. Bronasta obročka naj bi bila pogrešana, izrisana sta le dva keramična odlomka

lahko nakazujejo manjšo izmenjavo ogljika pri kremaciji med kostjo in gorivom ali višjo prvotno vrednost $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ v apatitu (glej komentar laboratorija pri Škvor Jernejčič 2014c, 384–385).

Št. vzorca / ID	Grob / Grave	Vzorec / Sample	Radiokarbonska starost / Radiocarbon Age	SF = splitting factor	Vsebnost C (wt%) / C-content (wt%)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)
KIA-54726	97	Kost / Bone	2742 ± 29 BP	/	/	/
KIA-54727	202	Kost / Bone	2747 ± 28 BP	/	/	/
KIA-54730	289	Kremirana kost / Cremated bone	2955 +35/-30 BP	6,8	0,11	-26,0 ± 0,7 ‰
KIA-54731	305	Kremirana kost / Cremated bone	3338 ± 29 BP	6,9	0,15	-20,1 ± 0,4 ‰
KIA-55220	305	Kremirana kost / Cremated bone	2950 ± 35 BP	6,0	0,24	-15,9 ± 0,3 ‰
KIA-55142	305a	Kost / Bone	2790 ± 30 BP	/	/	/
KIA-54732	354	Kremirana kost / Cremated bone	2916 ± 28 BP	5,8	0,31	-19,8 ± 0,2 ‰
KIA-54729	354a	Kost / Bone	2798 ± 27 BP	/	/	/

Sl. 7: Podatki o radiokarbonsko datiranih vzorcih z grobišča Dobova – Gomilice.

Fig. 7: Data on radiocarbon-dated samples taken from the cemetery at Dobova – Gomilice.

(Stare 1975, t. 11: 4–6). V Posavskem muzeju v Brežicah ne hranijo kostnih ostankov iz tega groba, zato radiokarbonska analiza ni bila mogoča.

Skeletni grob 45

Tudi ta grob naj bi bil najden v osrednjem delu nekropole, v njem pa naj bi bila po Staretovi objavi prav tako pokopana ženska z dvema bronastima obročkoma s pravim prepletom (sl. 8: 5–6) in bronastim obročkom polkrožnega preseka (Stare 1960, 87, 88, 95, sl. 8: 7–8). Obročka s prepletom sta bila najdena ob ušesnih kosteh, obroček s polkrožnim presekom pa je ležal ob desni nogi skeleta. V inventarni knjigi Posavskega muzeja v Brežicah in Staretovi monografski objavi najdemo podatek, da so vsi trije obročki izgubljeni (Stare 1975, 28). V Posavskem muzeju v Brežicah ne hranijo kostnih ostankov iz tega groba, zato radiokarbonska analiza ni bila mogoča.

Skeletni grob 97

Grob je bil najden 24. junija 1953²⁵ in je bil prenesen v Posavski muzej v Brežicah v prvotni legi. Je eden redkih grobov z grobišča, za katerega imamo zabeležen tloris, obliko grobne konstrukcije in lego pridatkov.²⁶ Obdan je bil z vencem iz prodnikov, ki so tvorili svojevrstno grobno arhitekturo (sl. 9).²⁷ Dolga leta so bili skelet, grobni pridatki in kamnita grobna konstrukcija razstavljeni v Posavskem muzeju v Brežicah (Gabrovec 1956, 45). Obe antropološki analizi sta pokazali, da gre za žensko (sl. 5). Po izsledkih prve analize je bila v grobu pokopana starejša ženska oseba (*Maturus*), rezultati druge pa kažejo, da je šlo za odraslo osebo staro 25–35 let. Na kosteh niso bile opažene patološke spremembe, ugotovljeno je bilo, da je oseba izgubila zobe že pred smrtjo. Radiokarbonsko je bil datiran vzorec nežgane kosti (KIA-54726). Rezultat datacije je 2742 ± 29 BP oz. 933–815 Cal BC ($2\sigma - 95,4\%$) (sl. 9: A). Po navedbah v objavi iz leta 1975 sta bila ob glavi skeleta na obeh straneh najdena dva bronasta lasna obročka s prepletom (sl. 9: 1–2).

²⁵ Podatek iz inv. knjige Posavskega muzeja Brežice.

²⁶ Dokumentacija s Staretovih izkopavanj je pogrešana, prav tako ne razpolagamo s tlorisom grobišča. Ohranili so se le podatki za grobove A-I, 1-34, ki jih je objavil Stare (Stare 1951; Stare 1953).

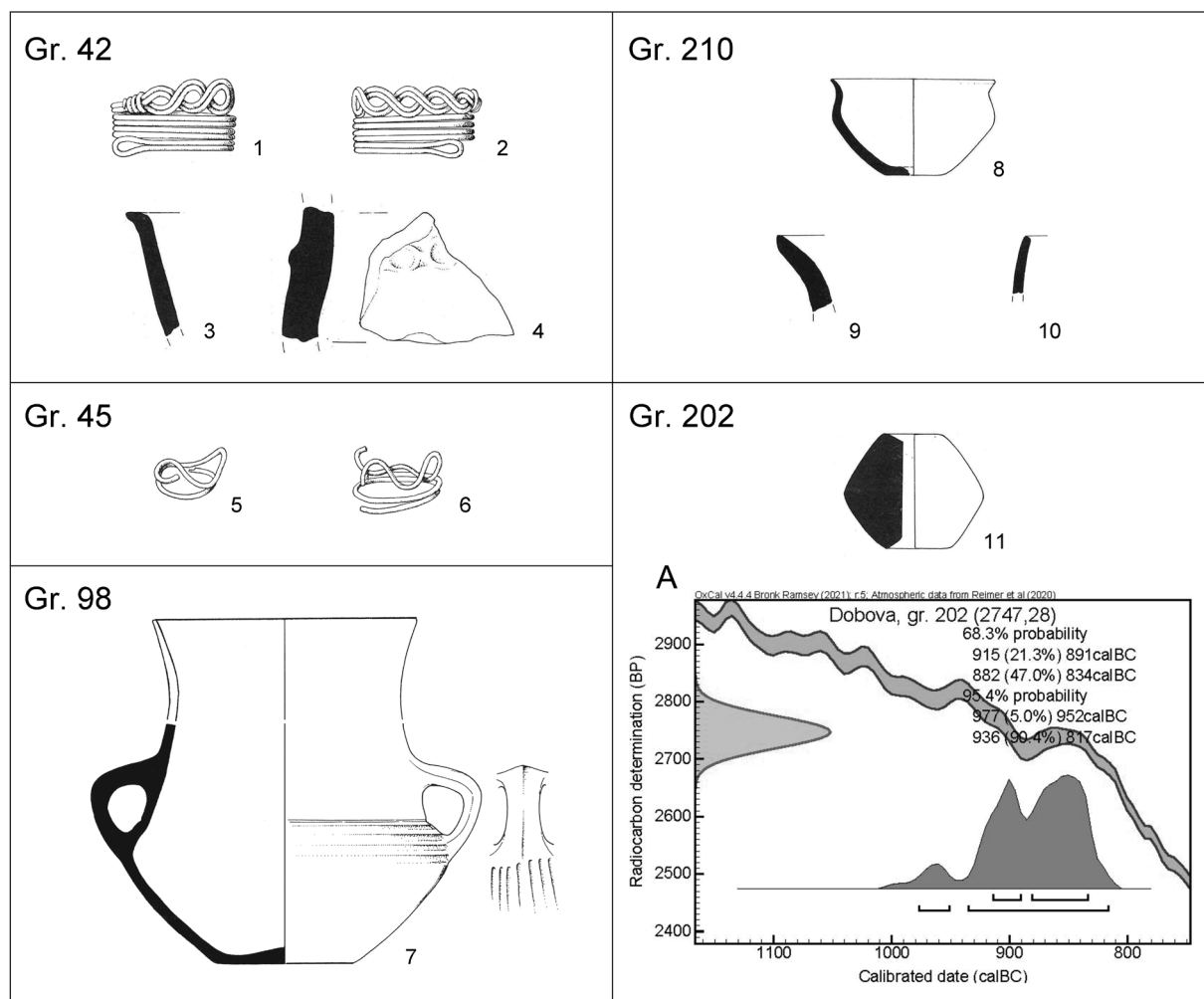
²⁷ Gabrovec omenja, da je bil ob glavi venec debelejšega kamena (Gabrovec 1956, 46).

Lasni obročki s prepletom

Lasni obročki iz grobov 42 in 97 so povsem ohranjeni in jih uvrščamo k varianti lasnih obročkov s pravim prepletom, kot je to opredelil že France Stare, ki je prvi zbral in analiziral tovrstne lasne obročke (Stare 1960, 85–88, 95–96, sl. 4). Obročki s prepletom so bili po njegovem mnenju del ženske noše, datiral jih je v razvito stopnjo Ha B. Menil je, da utegnejo biti obročki s pravim prepletom starejši od obročkov s psevdoprepletom. Da se lasni obročki s prepletom pojavijo šele v III. stopnji dobovskega grobišča oz. v Ha B1, je menil tudi Dular, v zadnjo, IV. fazo/Ha B3 pa so jih datirali italijanski arheologi (Dular 1978, 38, kombinacijska tabela; Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 194, t. 85: 10). Staretovo karto razprostranjenosti bronastih lasnih obročkov s pravim in psevdoprepletom je dopolnila Lucija Grahek (Grahek 2004, 150–151, sl. 40).²⁸ Lasni obročki, najdeni v depojih Bingula-Divoš, Brodski Varoš, na kolišču Wollishofen ob Züriškem jezeru in v grobu v Spodnjem Radvanju,²⁹ so bili narejeni iz enojne žice ter jih je po našem mnenju treba razlikovati od lasnih obročkov iz dvojne žice. Med novejšje najdbe bronastih lasnih obročkov s pravim prepletom iz enojne žice spadata tudi bronasta obročka iz groba 25 na Obrežju (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 621: 405–406, sl. 42: G405–G406). Na podlagi žare s cilindričnim vratom, izvihanim ustjem in nažlebljenimi rameni spada grob v stopnjo Bd D/Ha A1. Zelo podobna ji je žara iz obreškega groba 32, ki je na podlagi radiokarbonske datacije datirana v 13. st. pr. n. št. (sl. 6: Obrežje, gr. 32; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 75–76, 110, 624, 625: 420, sl. 47, 55). Omenimo še žarni grob 43 z grobišča Balatonmagyaród-Hídvégpuszta, kjer je bil v grob pridan en sam obroček s prepletom iz

²⁸ Za komentar, da pripadajo nekateri odlomki fibulam, in ne lasnim obročkom, glej Pavlin, Bavec 2017, 91. Prav tako je treba opozoriti na obroček iz Mokronoga (Gabrovec 1973, t. 5: 21), ki bi lahko pripadal obročku tipa Balta Verde (Gumă 1995, 248, t. 4; Pabst 2012, 413, karta 44.2, kjer ni naveden primer ek iz Mokronoga), in ne obročku s pravim prepletom. Glej tudi študijo S. Pabst, ki je opredelila in kartirala obročke s psevdoprepletom tipa Velem-Szentvid, najdene tudi v dobovskih grobovih 165 in 373 (Pabst 2012, 413, karta 44.1).

²⁹ Pahič je opozoril, da kovinske najdbe morda ne izvirajo z grobišča Spodnje Radvanje (Pahič 1968, 23, op. 73, t. 4: 10; Teržan 1990, 337–338, t. 68: 10). Nekateri predmeti, ki so bili objavljeni pod tem najdiščem, so bili pozneje pripisani depoju Hočko Pohorje, vendar obročka s prepletom ni med njimi (glej Pahič 1987; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 177).



Sl. 8: Dobova – Gomilice, skeletni grobovi 42 (1–4), 45 (5–6), 98 (7), 210 (8–10) in 202 (11, A). 1–2, 5–6 bron; 3–4, 7–11 keramika. M. 1–2, 5–6, 11 = 1:2; 3–4, 7–10 = 1:4 (1–2, 5–6 po Stare 1960; 3–4, 7–11 po Stare 1975).

Fig. 8: Dobova – Gomilice, inhumation graves 42 (1–4), 45 (5–6), 98 (7), 210 (8–10) and 202 (11, A). 1–2, 5–6 bronze; 3–4, 7–11 pottery. Scale 1–2, 5–6, 11 = 1:2; 3–4, 7–10 = 1:4 (1–2, 5–6 modified from Stare 1960; 3–4, 7–11 modified from Stare 1975).

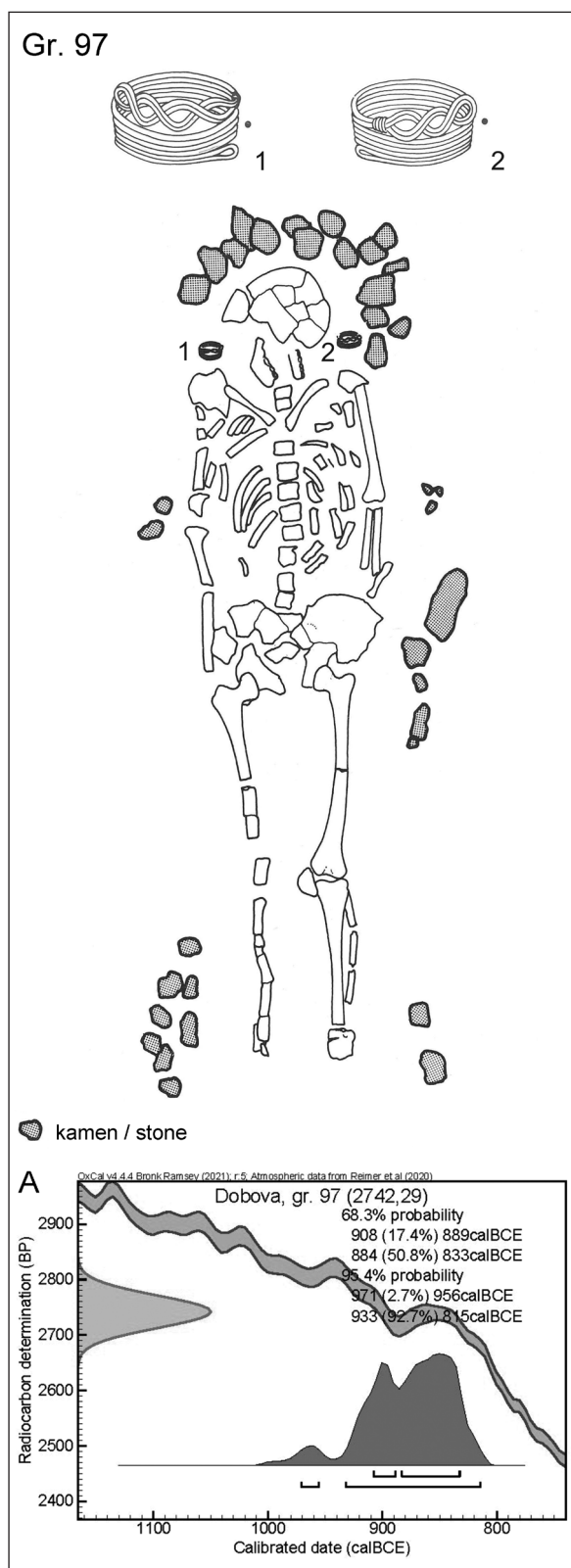
enojne žice (Boulud 2002, t. 30: 2). Zdi se, da so obročki iz enojne žice torej starejši od obročkov iz dvojne žice in spadajo že v stopnjo Bd D/Ha A1. Treba je opozoriti še na obroček s prepletom iz enojne žice, najden v dekliškem grobu v Dedinki na Slovaškem, ki spada prav tako v stopnjo Bd D/Ha A1 (Paulík 1984, sl. 6A: 5).

Novejše najdbe lasnih obročkov s pravim prepletom iz dvojne žice z grobišč Žadovinek pri Krškem (Pavlin, Bavec 2017, 90–91, t. 5: 4), Pobrežje (Koprivnik 2021, 194, t. 9: 3) in Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 99, 647, sl. 42: G512–G513) kažejo, da so se tovrstni obročki pojavili nekoliko pozneje od tistih iz enojne žice, in sicer v stopnji Ha A2/B1, ter so bili v uporabi vse do konca pozne bronaste dobe oz. 9. st. pr. n. št., kar nenazadnje nakazuje tudi nova radiokarbonska datacija skeletnega groba 97 iz Dobove (sl. 9: A).

Lasna obročka iz groba 45 sta slabše ohranjena (sl. 8: 5–6), kar je ob tem, da sta bila najdena v skeletnem grobu, presenetljivo. Vsekakor je treba opozoriti, da sta manjša od obročkov iz skeletnih grobov 42 in 97. Zaradi fragmentiranosti ju je težje pripisati določenemu tipu, glede na ohranjenost bi ju le pogojno pripisali obročkom s prepletom iz enojne žice.

Lasni obročki s pravim ali psevdoprepletom iz dvojne žice so bili v pozni bronasti dobi torej del ženske noše, najdemo jih predvsem v žganih grobovih ljubljanske, dobovske in ruške skupine, z izjemo treh skeletnih grobov iz Dobove. V povezavi s skeletnimi grobovi iz Dobove s tovrstnim nakitom kaže opozoriti na obroček s psevdoprepletom tipa Velem-Szentvid,³⁰ ki je bil najden ob

³⁰ Za tovrstne obročke glej Pabst 2012, 413, karta 44,1.



Sl. 9: Dobova – Gomilice, skeletni grob 97. Merilo in usmerjenost groba nista znana. 1–2 bron. M. 1,2 = 1:2 (po Stare 1975).

Fig. 9: Dobova – Gomilice, inhumation grave 97. The scale and orientation of the grave are not reported. 1–2 bronze. Scale 1,2 = 1:2 (modified from Stare 1975).

ženskem skeletu v jami na naselbini Ivanovice na Hané na Moravskem (Parma et al. 2018). Izkopavalci si najdbo razlagajo kot akt žrtvovanja osebe z visokim družbenim statusom, v pokopu ženske v jami na naselbini pa domnevajo votivno dejanje. Vzorec kosti je bil radiokarbonsko datiran na konec 11. oz. v 10. st. pr. n. št. Ženska je nosila poleg lasnega obročka izredno bogat nakit – ovratnici, zapestnice, obročke, iglo in fibulo, pri čemer gre pri nekaterih delih noše – med drugim pri lasnem obročku – najverjetneje za importe, tudi iz jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora (Parma et al. 2018, 330). Kombinacija vseh nakitnih pridatkov je edinstvena po svoji sestavi in morda kaže, da je imela pokojnica visok družbeni status. Sodeč po rezultatih analize izotopov $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$, naj sicer ne bi šlo za prišlekinjo.

Skeletni grob 98

Na parceli, kjer so že spomladi 1961 zaradi širitve dobovske gramoznice potekala obsežna zaščitna izkopavanja, je bil 29. novembra istega leta pri površinskem izkopu gramoza, na globini 120 cm, najden skeletni grob 98. Orientiran je bil vzhod–zahod, v dolžino je meril okrog 180 cm. Ob glavi skeleta je bila najdena amfora (sl. 8: 7; Škalcer 1960–1961b, 226, t. IX: 1).³¹ Kosti iz tega groba se niso ohranile, zato radiokarbonska analiza ni bila mogoča.

Amfora z visokim lijakastim vratom

Amfora iz groba ima visok lijakast vrat, ki je višji od trupa (sl. 8: 7).³² Na ramenih je okrašena z vodoravnimi kanelurami, pod ročajema pa je okras navpičnih kanelur. Ta tip amfore je poseben v tem, da je spodnji del ročaja pritrjen tik nad največjim obodom posode.

Amfore so sicer pogost pridelek v dobovskih grobovih. Po Dularjevi tipokronološki razdelitvi grobišča so prisotne v stopnjah Dobova III/Ha B1 oz. Dobova IV/Ha B2 (Dular 1978, 38). Dular je opozoril, da dobovskih amfor ni mogoče podrobno kronološko razvrstiti, ker so pogosto edini pridelek v grobu (Dular 1978, 42, op. 20). Amfori iz skeletnega groba 98 najdemo primerjave v dobovskih žganih grobovih 280, 305, 327 in 347 (Stare 1975, t. 42:

³¹ To dejstvo je nenavadno, saj v Dobovi ne poznamo primera popolnega skeletnega pokopa iz pozne bronaste dobe s posodo kot pridatkom. Ne gre izključiti možnosti dvojnega, biritualnega groba.

³² Opozoriti velja, da je zgornji del vratu rekonstruiran.

4; 44: 12; 45: 8; 50: 6; 68: 305, 347). V grobu 280 je bila poleg amfore, ki ima sicer ročaja nekoliko višje, tudi skleda z nazlebljenim ustjem, kar nakazuje datacijo groba v stopnjo Ha A. Nekoliko višje postavljen ročaj ima tudi neokrašena amfora iz groba 305, ki ga lahko na podlagi pridatkov in nove radiokarbonske datacije (*sl. 10: 1–10, A*) umestimo že v stopnjo Ha A (glej v nadaljevanju). Oblikovno najbližji pa sta ji amfori iz dobovskih grobov 327 in 347. V prvem je bila najdena samo amfora, v drugem dno druge posode in odlomek bronaste žice.

Na Obrežju so bile tako oblikovane amfore opredeljene kot tip A2/1, vse so neokrašene, ročaji so postavljeni nekoliko višje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 78, *sl. 32: A2/1*). Grob 40 z Obrežja, v katerem je bila amfora uporabljena kot žara, je bil na podlagi fibule z violinskim lokom datiran v stopnjo Ha A1 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 78, 85, 92). Avtorja primerjata ta tip prav z dobovskimi grobovi 98 in 305 ter z grobom 56 s Pobrežja in navedeta ugotovitve Pahiča, da gre za oblike stopnje Ha A (Pahič 1972, 15, t. 12: 1). V 12. st. pr. n. št. je bila datirana tudi žgana kost iz dvojnega groba 15 v Slatini (*sl. 6: Slatina, gr. 15 G, Slatina, gr. 15 F*), pri čemer je neokrašena amfora služila kot žara v otroškem grobu (Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018, 92–93, 96–97, 102–103).³³ Zelo visok vrat ima amfora iz odpadne jame v Orehovi vasi (Grahek 2015, 37, 184, *sl. 30: G295–G296*), podobne so znane tudi iz Rogoze (Črešnar 2010, 32, *sl. 13: A3b–c*; Črešnar 2022, 79–80, *sl. 71: A3b–c*), kar je dodaten indic, da so bile tovrstne amfore v uporabi že v stopnji Ha A. Amfore, okrašene s fasetami ali kanelurami, so poznane tudi z naselbine Majš–Borza-major v južni Transdanubiji in so datirane v Ha A1–A2 in Ha A2/B1 (Weber 2017, 199–200, *sl. 10: 1–3; 17: 2*). Weber jih je primerjal z enoročajnimi posodami, t. i. *Wasserkrüge* po tipologiji Patkove (Patek 1968, 97–99, t. 5: 1–5, 19), in navedel tudi druge primerjave Ha A. Omenimo še podobno amforo z grobišča Vál, groba 3 (Petres 1960, 18, 26–27, t. XII: 5). Upoštevajoč vse te primerjave, lahko rečemo, da gre za tip amfor, ki ga je mogoče datirati v Ha A, pri čemer se v času Ha B ne pojavlja več.

Skeletni grob 202

Spomladi 1960 so med 24. marcem in 2. aprilom na Gomilicah v Dobovi potekala zaščitna arhe-

ološka izkopavanja. Stare poročajo, da so odkrili 46 žganih in 1 skeletni grob (Stare 1960–1961, 191). Ti žgani grobovi so bili v monografiji objavljeni pod številkami 183–201, 203–229 (Stare 1975, 17, 31–32). Omenjeni skeletni grob lahko zelo verjetno identificiramo kot grob 202. Zanimiv je podatek, ki ga Stare navaja le v kratkem poročilu, namreč da je bil skeletni grob ženski, oseba pa je bila pokopana v legi na trebuhu. V nadaljevanju piše, da *“ta skeletni grob ponovno predstavlja mejo med dvema prostoroma, ki so jih uporabljale omenjene družinske skupnosti za pokopavanje svojih umrlih”* (Stare 1960–1961, 191).

Edini pridelek iz tega groba je glinen vijček (*sl. 8: 11*). V Posavskem muzeju Brežice hranijo tudi posamezne nežgane kosti. Antropološka analiza je pokazala, da so se ohranili deli trupa (odlomki reber, vretenc), ramenskega obroča in okončin (koželjnica, lopatica, ključnica, nadlahtnica, podlahtnica), ki so pripadali odrasli, domnevno ženski osebi, starejši od 17 let (*sl. 5*). Radiokarbonsko je bil datiran vzorec kosti (KIA-54727). Rezultat datacije je 936–817 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (*sl. 8: A*).

Skeletni grob 210

V Posavskem muzeju Brežice hranijo inventarna listka s pripisom *Dobova 1960 skeletni grob 210 inv. št.*, kar kaže, da je bil tudi grob 210 skeletni. V njem so bili najdeni odlomki skleda oz. skodele ter odlomki sten in ustij še dveh posod (*sl. 8: 8–10*). Podobno skledo najdemo tudi na ljubljanskem grobišču v grobu 163 (Puš 1971, t. 25: 10; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, *sl. 4.70: 4a*; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, t. 81: 8). V njem so bili poleg skleda še odlomki drugih posod, kamnito orodje ter košček ploščatega in v ognju ožganega bronastega predmeta – morda ingota (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 72–73, t. 81: 8–12; glej tudi Turk, Svetličič, Pavlovič 2022, 124). Upoštevajoč velikost dobovske posodice, se sicer zdi verjetneje, da gre za skledico, kakršne so bile odkrite v Ljubljani v grobovih stopenj Ha A2/B1 in Ha B (Stare 1954b, t. V: 5; Puš 1982, t. 29: 1; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 59–60, *sl. 4.52: 6–7*). Sorodne so skodelice tipa Sk4/3 z Obrežja, kjer se pojavijo predvsem v grobovih stopnje Ha B, avtorja pa opozorita tudi na primerke iz naselbinskih kontekstov iz Rogoze ter Orehove vasi stopnje Ha A (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 87, *sl. 36: Sk4/3*). Med odlomki posod iz groba 210 hranijo v Posavskem muzeju Brežice tudi odlomek sežgane kosti, kar bi morda nakazovalo, da je šlo v tem primeru pravzaprav za dvojni pokop – skeletni in žgani.

³³ Amfora iz Slatine ima vrat nižji od trupa, drugače so oblikovani tudi ročaji.

Žgani grob 305 in skeletni grob 305a

V manjši posodici (*sl. 10: 11*) je bilo odkritih nekaj nežganih kosti – odlomki nadlahtnice, podlahtnice, stegenice in medenice –, ki so pripadale odrasli osebi (*sl. 5*). Ta skupek kosti je bil označen kot skeletni grob 305a (Stare 1975, 34). Radiokarbonsko sta bila datirana dva vzorca – nežgana kost iz groba 305a (KIA-55142) in žgana kost iz groba 305 (KIA-55220). Rezultat datacije nežgane kosti je 1014–892 Cal BC, žgane kosti pa 1266–1046 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (*sl. 10: A–B; 14*; glej tudi *Komentar k radiokarbonski dataciji v nadaljevanju*), kar kaže, da so nežgane kosti, najdene v posodici (grob 305a), vsaj za generacijo ali dve mlajše od žganega groba 305.

Žgani grob 305 je po številu nakitnih pridatkov eden bogatejših na nekropoli. V njem so bili poleg amfore (glej zgoraj poglavje *Amfora z visokim lijakastim vratom*) najdeni kar dve ovratnici, štiri zapestnice in bronasti gumbi (*sl. 10: 1–8*; glej tudi Teržan 1999, 115, 119, *sl. 11*).³⁴ Ena od ovratnic je bila gladka, druga pa tordirana. Tordirana je bila tudi drobna zapestnica s spiralno zavitim konci, kakršne najdemo predvsem v južnopanonskih depojih starejše KŽG, kot npr. Poljanci I, Pričac, Zagreb-Medvedgrad, Nova Bingula (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 183, 187, t. 49: 5; 71: 34; 75: 7; Miklik-Lozok 2009, 17, kat. št. 134–138, 140–141, 172; Garašanin, Tasić 1975, t. XXXV: 12,13), torej v depojih II. faze po Vinski-Gasparini, na kar je opozoril tudi Turk (Turk 2000, 74–75; Turk 2001, 257).³⁵ Del tordirane zapestnice bi lahko prepoznali tudi v odlomkih iz depojev Hočko Pohorje in Gorenji Suhadol na Gorjancih (Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 186, t. 79: 93; Pavlin, Stipančić 2023, 131, tab. 1, t. 7: 8 in tam citirana literatura). Omeniti kaže še gladke zapestnice s spiralno uvitimi konci z grobišča Balatonmagyaród-Hídvépuszta, in sicer iz grobov 15 ter 24 (Boulud 2002, t. 18: 2; 43: 4–5). V grobu 24 je bila poleg zapestnice tudi igla s t. i. češko profilirano glavico (*Nadel mit böhmischer Profilierung*), ki spada v zgodnje/ starejše žarnogrobiščno obdobje (Říhovský 1979,

153–159; Novotná 1980, 138–139). Tovrstne igle so na grobišču Budapest-Békásmegyer datirane v stopnjo Ha A2 (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 264, 297). Majhne zapestnice s spiralno zavitim konci najdemo tudi na avstrijskih najdiščih, kjer jih prav tako uvrščajo v starejše žarnogrobiščno obdobje oz. stopnjo Ha A (Lochner 1991, 185, 188). Zapestnico s spiralno zavitim konci poznamo tudi z najdišča Budapest-Békásmegyer, kjer je bila najdena skupaj z iglo z bikonično glavico v otroškem grobu 151 (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 97, tipološka t. 15: 17; t. 68: 11). Kombinacijo treh gladkih zapestnic s spiralno uvitimi konci, dve sta okrašeni z vrezji, in zapestnice z rombičnim presekom srečamo v grobu 258 na Dvorišču SAZU v Ljubljani, ki spada v stopnjo Ha A2/B1 (Puš 1971, t. 52: 8–10; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 123, *sl. 4.119: 5–6; 4.121: 1*).

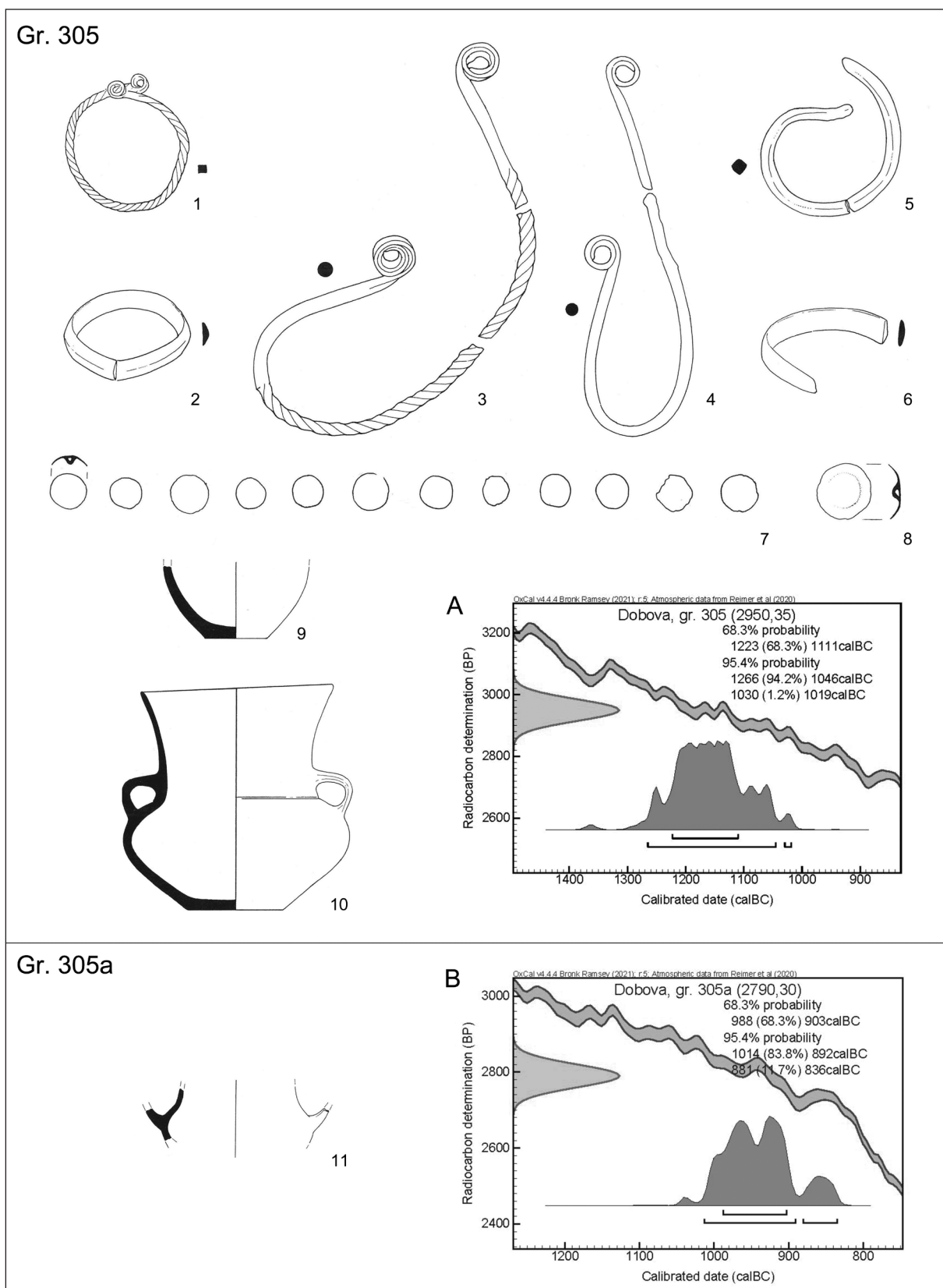
Dobovski grob 305 po sestavi z dvema ovratnicama in štirimi zapestnicami uvrščamo k prvemu kompletu ženske noše (Teržan 1999, 115, 119, *sl. 10: gr. 6, 36; 11: II*). Kombinacije ovratnice in zapestnice najdemo v Dobovi pravzaprav v le še nekaj grobovih, ki so po svoji sestavi izjemni. Taka nakitna kombinacija je redka tudi v drugih grobovih na Pobrežju, v Rušah in Ljubljani, prav tako so vsi mlajši. Na Obrežju je kombinacija ovratnice in zapestnice v stopnji Bd D/Ha A1 zastopana le v grobu 3, vsi preostali sicer redki grobovi pa so mlajši (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 95, *sl. 40*), kar je dodaten indic, da gre za izredne grobove. Že Peter Turk je nakazal, da bi bilo mogoče v grobovih z drobnimi tordiranimi zapestnicami s spiralnimi zaključki, ki se pojavijo v bogatih grobovih starejše in srednje KŽG od vzhodne Francije do Panonije, prepoznati grobove bogatih deklic oz. žensk s specifičnim, morda obrednim statusom (Turk 2001, 124).

Poudariti velja, da so vse omenjene zapestnice majhne (premera do 4 cm), kar bi nakazovalo, da so pripadale dojenčicam oz. majhnim deklicam. To tezo podpirajo tudi antropološke analize. V grobu 305 iz Dobove je bil pokopan otrok, star manj kot eno leto (*sl. 5*), kar se torej ujema z velikostjo obročastega nakita. Omenili smo že primer otroškega groba 151 z najdišča Budapest-Békásmegyer, v katerem je bil pokopan otrok, star 5–6 let (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 97).

Na podlagi tipokronološke analize in tudi nove radiokarbonske datacije lahko torej datiramo žgani grob 305 v stopnjo Ha A oz. v 12. st. pr. n. št. Nežgane kosti iz skodelice na *sl. 10: 11* pa so mlajše vsaj za eno ali dve generaciji in spadajo v 10. st. pr. n. št. oz. v mlajše žarnogrobiščno obdobje.

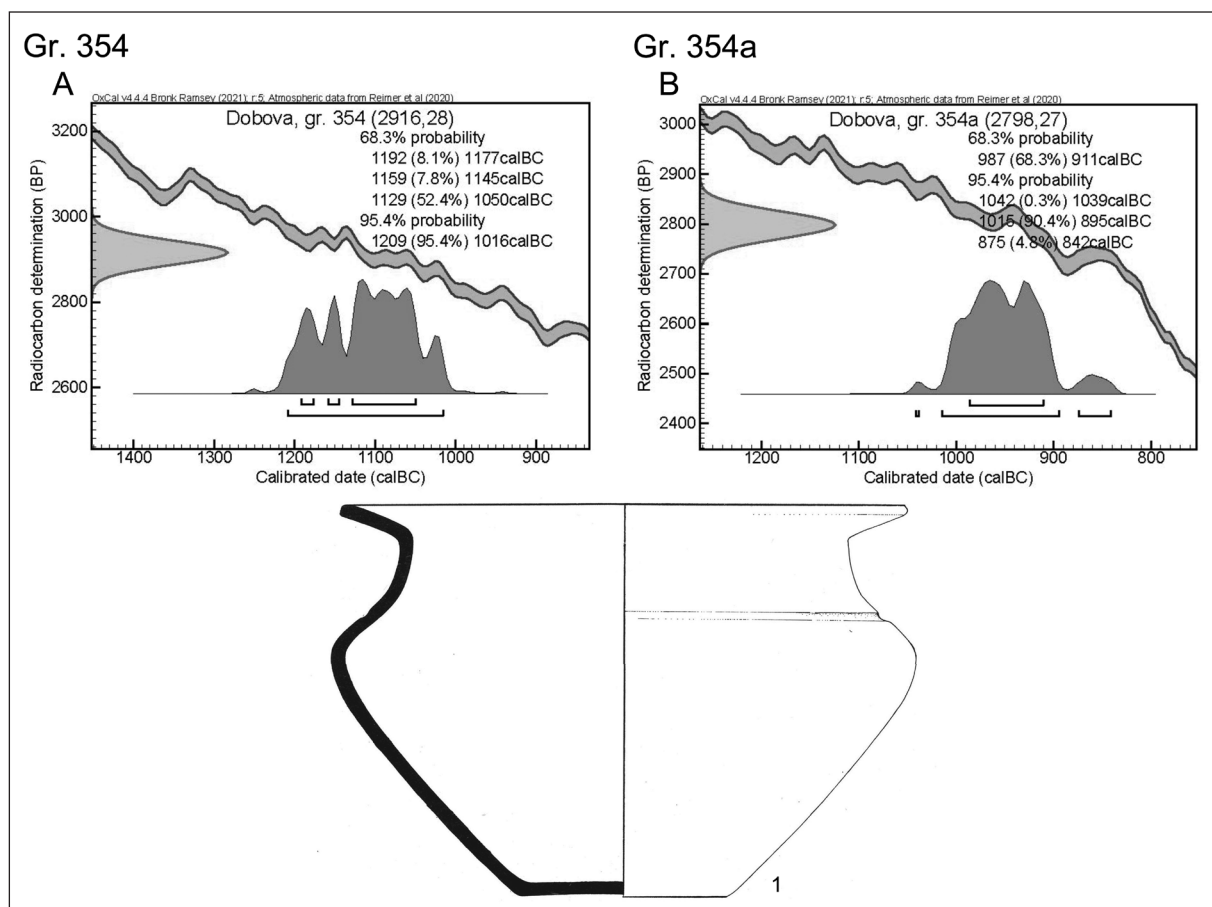
³⁴ Zanimiva je teza Bibe Teržan, da bi lahko v grobovih s falero in gumbi prepoznali nošo odraslih žensk, v grobovih z gumbi brez falere pa grobove otrok oz. mlajših oseb (Teržan 2016, 296), kar nakazujeta tudi grobova 289 in 305 iz Dobove.

³⁵ Pri odlomkih iz depojev Brodski Varoš in Mačkovec gre verjetneje za majhne tordirane ovratnice, kakršne najdemo prav tako v dobovskem grobu 305 (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, 181, t. 59: 11; 73: 27).



Sl. 10: Dobova – Gomilice, žgani grob 305 (1–10, A) in skeletni grob 305a (11, B). 1–8 bron; 9–11 keramika. M. 1–8 = 1:2; 9–11 = 1:4 (1–11 po Stare 1975).

Fig. 10: Dobova – Gomilice, cremation grave 305 (1–10, A) and inhumation grave 305a (11, B). 1–8 bronze; 9–11 pottery. Scale 1–8 = 1:2; 9–11 = 1:4 (1–11 modified from Stare 1975).



Sl. 11: Dobova – Gomilice, žgani grob 354 (A) in skeletni grob 354a (B). 1 keramika. M. = 1:4 (1 po Stare 1975).

Fig. 11: Dobova – Gomilice, cremation grave 354 (A) and inhumation grave 354a (B). 1 pottery. Scale = 1:4 (1 modified from Stare 1975).

Komentar k radiokarbonski dataciji

Vzorec žgane kosti iz groba 305 je bil na radiokarbonsko analizo poslan dvakrat. Rezultat prvega datiranja (KIA-54731) je 3338 ± 29 BP oz. 1689–1532 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (sl. 7), kar je – upoštevajoč arheološki kontekst – veliko starejša datacija od pričakovane. Vzorec iz istega groba je bil pozneje analiziran še enkrat (KIA-55220), rezultat pa je 2950 ± 35 BP oz. 1266–1046 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (sl. 7; 10: A). Pri obeh datiranih vzorcih iz groba 305 je vrednost SF > 5, vsebnost ogljika pa ne presega vrednosti 0,5 % na težo (sl. 7). Treba je opozoriti na nekoliko višjo vrednost $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ $-15,9 \pm 0,3$ ‰ pri drugi dataciji, ki pa je lahko rezultat različnih dejavnikov, npr. prehrane, temperature in trajanja kremacije, vrste goriva oz. lesa in podobno, ter ne nakazuje nujno kontaminacije vzorca (glej op. 24).

Žgani grob 354 in skeletni grob 354a

Žgane in nežgane kosti dveh različnih oseb so bile na dobovskem grobišču najdene tudi v grobovih,

ki sta v monografiji označena kot grob 354 in 354a (Stare 1975, 35). Nežgane kosti pripadajo otroku, ki je umrl v starosti med 8,5 in 9,5 leta. Glede na zastopanost posameznih skeletnih elementov (Piontek, Tomazo-Ravnik, Štefanič 1975, 25) gre najverjetneje za celotni, popolni pokop (grob 354a). Antropološka analiza je pokazala, da lahko razlika med starostjo, ocenjeno na podlagi zob in kosti, kaže na pomanjkanje hranil in zaostalost v rasti (sl. 5). V Staretovi objavi je navedeno, da je bil ta grob brez pridatkov. Bikonična posoda (sl. 11: 1) je v Staretovi monografiji pripisana žganemu grobu 354. Žgane kosti, in sicer dva odlomka nadlahtnice, pripadajo odrasli osebi (sl. 5). Radiokarbonsko sta bila datirana dva vzorca, žgana kost iz groba 354 (KIA-54732) in nežgana kost iz groba 354a (KIA-54729). Rezultat datacije žgane kosti je 1209–1016 Cal BC (2σ – 95,4 %) (sl. 11: A), rezultat datacije nežgane kosti pa je 1015–859 Cal BC (2σ – 90,4 %) (sl. 11: B). Tako kot v primeru grobov 305 in 305a je torej datacija nežgane kosti za generacijo ali več mlajša od datacije žgane kosti.

Primerjavo za posodo iz dobovskega groba najdemo v okviru skupine Vál na grobišču Neszmély, v grobu 33, v katerem je bila tudi igla z veliko vazasto glavico, datirana v Ha B1 (Patek 1961, t. V: 1, 7, 9–10; Patek 1968, t. IV: 16; Pare 1998, 401, sl. 46: B; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 97). Ta datacija se zdi, upoštevajoč radiokarbonsko datacijo žgane kosti iz groba 354, nekoliko nizka. Ni torej izključeno, da je posoda spadala k otroškemu skeletnemu grobu.

SKELETNI GROBOVI IZ DOBOVE V OKVIRU KŽG SKUPNOSTI

Na tem mestu velja izpostaviti nekatere značilnosti prej opisanih skeletnih pokopov iz Dobove. Najstarejši naj bi bil grob 98, vsaj po tipokronološki opredelitvi amfore, vendar so podatki preskromni za širše zaključke. Opirajoč se na rezultate radiokarbonskih datacij, so najstarejši skeletni pokopi iz 10. st. pr. n. št. Pri tem je pomembno, da pri grobu 305a ne gre za običajen skeletni pokop, ampak za sekundarno premeščene dele skeletnih ostankov, zbrane v keramični posodi. Pri grobu 354a najverjetneje sicer lahko govorimo o popolnem, a slabo ohranjenem skeletnem pokopu, vendar je treba omeniti, da gre za pokop otroka. Oba prej omenjena grobova stojita v za zdaj nezadostno razumljeni navezavi s starejšima žganima pokopoma, negotova pa je tudi situacija pri skeletnih grobovih 98 in 210. Celoten skeletni pokop v iztegnjeni legi je zagotovo izpričan v grobu 97 s pridanimi lasnimi obročki s prepletom, ki je bil radiokarbonsko datiran v 9. st. pr. n. št. Enako datacijo ima tudi grob 202, pri čemer je treba izpostaviti, da kostni ostanki v celoti bodisi niso ohranjeni bodisi jih ni bilo že pri inhumaciji. Glede na prisotnost lasnih obročkov bi morda v ta

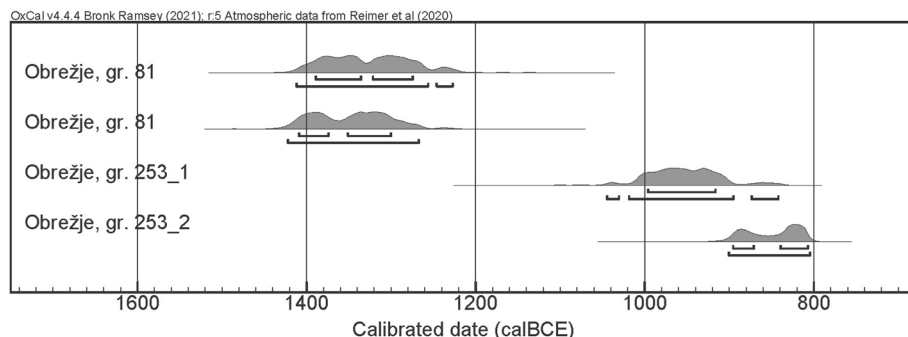
čas lahko postavili tudi primera skeletnih grobov 42 in 45. Nova opažanja o skeletnih grobovih so bila pred kratkim izpostavljena v objavi sodobno izkopanega grobišča na Obrežju. Presenetljivo je, da pridobljeni podatki z omenjenega grobišča delno kažejo podobno sliko pogrebnih običajev v sklopu skeletnih grobov, kot jo lahko opazujemo na grobišču v Dobovi.

Skeletni grobovi z Obrežja

Najboljše primerjave dobovskim skeletnim grobovom v okviru žarnega grobišča najdemo na Obrežju, ki je od Dobove oddaljeno le nekaj kilometrov (Mason, Kramberger 2022, sl. 7: 1, 24). Na obreškem grobišču so bili ob 358 žganih grobovih najdeni tudi bronastodobni skeletni grobovi 81, 253/1-2 in 317, štirje vzorci iz prvih dveh grobov so bili radiokarbonsko datirani (sl. 12). Najstarejši je grob 81, saj ga po radiokarbonski dataciji³⁶ uvrščamo v čas med 14. in začetkom 13. st. pr. n. št. (sl. 12: Obrežje, gr. 81; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 59, 68, 116–117, 421, 664–665, sl. 47, 53–54, 73–74). V grobni jami sta bila skelet otroka, starega šest let in pol (PN 12664), in lobanja otroka brez spodnje čeljusti iste starosti (PN 12663) (Nicholls 2022, 170).³⁷ Analize starodavne DNK lobanje (PN 12663) so razkrile, da gre za dečka (Fischer, Armit 2022, sl. 162). V polnilu grobne jame so

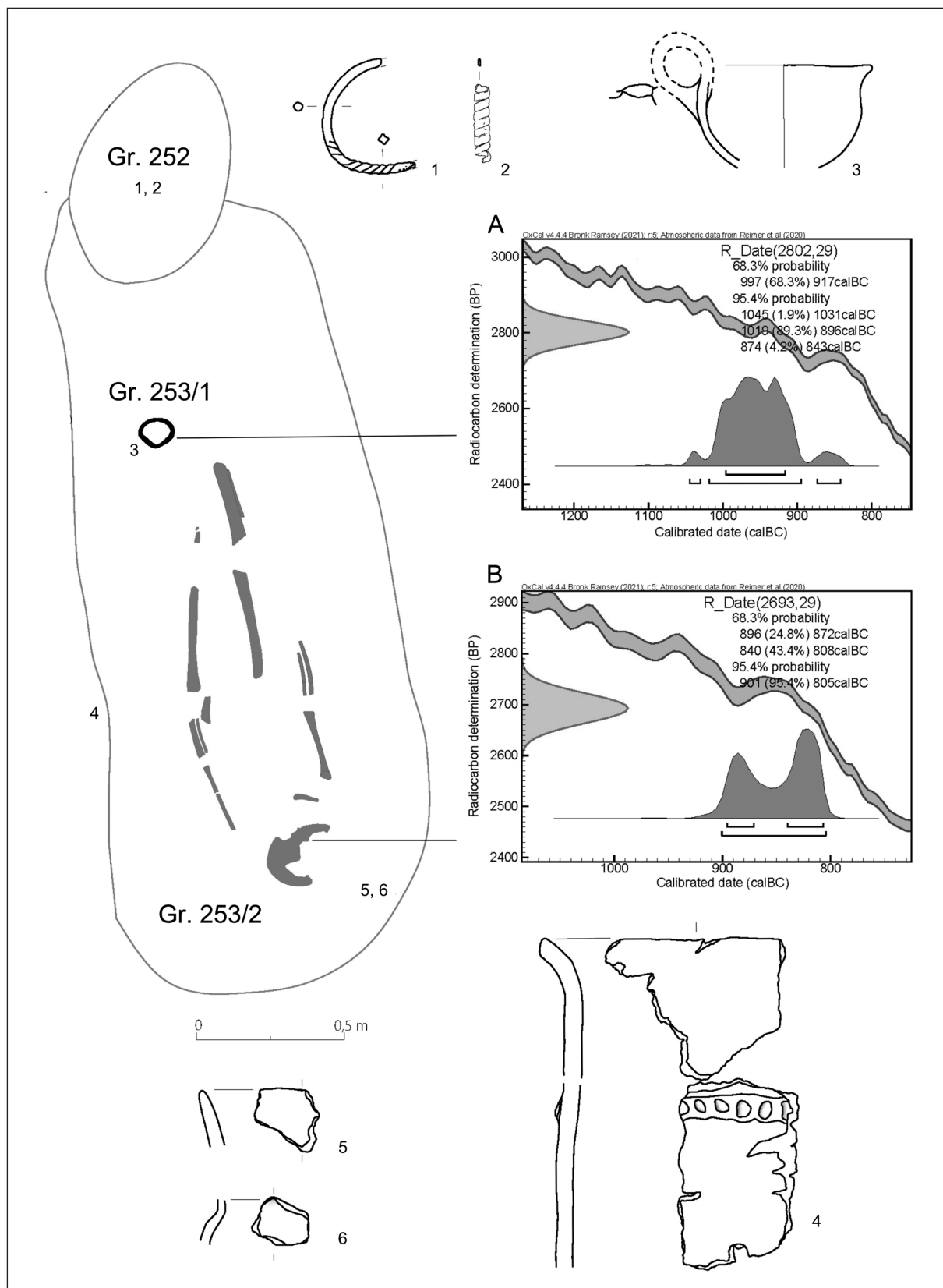
³⁶ Iz objave ni razvidno, katere kosti so bile poslane na radiokarbonsko analizo. Najdemo le podatek SE 12664, ki predstavlja polnilo vkopa, ter navedbo, da gre pri vzorcu SUERC-69432 za skelet, pri vzorcu SUERC-69437 pa za lobanjo. Nadalje zasledimo podatek, da se obe dataciji nanašata verjetno na kosti istega skeleta (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 115, 122, sl. 47).

³⁷ Dejstvo, da je starost pri obeh enaka, zbuja vprašanje, ali gre res za dve osebi (dvojčka?) ali pripadajo skeletni ostanki isti osebi.



Sl. 12: Radiokarbonske datacije skeletnih grobov z Obrežja (po Mason, Kramberger 2022, sl. 47).

Fig. 12: Radiocarbon dating results obtained from inhumation graves at the cemetery of Obrežje (according to Mason, Kramberger 2022, fig. 47).



Sl. 13: Obrežje, skeletna grobova 253/1 (3, A) in 253/2 (4–6, B) ter žgani grob 252 (1–2). 1–2 bron, 3–6 keramika. M. 1,2 = 1:2; 3–6 = 1:3 (1–6 po Mason, Kramberger 2022).

Fig. 13: Obrežje, inhumation graves 253/1 (3, A) and 253/2 (4–6, B) and cremation grave 252 (1–2). 1–2 bronze, 3–6 pottery. Scale 1,2 = 1:2; 3–6 = 1:3 (1–6 modified from Mason, Kramberger 2022).

bile najdene tudi kremirane kosti. Sodeč po antropološki analizi, pripadajo osebi nedoločljivega spola, starejši od 45 let (Šlaus et al. 2022, 133). V neposredni bližini skeletnega groba 81 so bili odkriti grobovi 75, 80 in 82 z grobnimi jamami, ki po velikosti in obliki ustrezajo jamam skeletnih grobov, vendar v njih ni bilo kostnih ostankov, z izjemo groba 80, v katerem so bili najdeni drobci sežganih kosti odraslega (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 68, sl. 27; Šlaus et al. 2022, 132–133).³⁸

Skelet in kremirane ostanke najdemo na Obrežju tudi v grobu 317 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 520, 844–845). Objavljeni sta dve antropološki analizi; prva je pokazala, da gre pri skeletnih ostankih za osebo nedoločljivega spola, starejšo od 40 let, medtem ko kremiranih ostankov ni bilo mogoče podrobneje opredeliti (Šlaus et al. 2022, 162). Upoštevajoč drugo analizo, je bil skeletno pokopan odrasel, starejši od 45 let, domnevno moškega spola. Analiza starodavne DNK je potrdila, da gre za moškega (Fischer, Armit 2022, 214, sl. 162). Kremirani ostanki niso bili analizirani (Nicholls 2022, 171). Po pridatkih – bronasti igli s spiralno uvito glavico in bronastem gumbu – je grob datiran v stopnjo Ha B2/B3 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 68, 112, 218).

V povezavi z dobovskimi skeletnimi grobovi, ki jih obravnavamo v tem članku, sta zanimiva grobova 253/1 in 253/2 z Obrežja (sl. 13; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 792–793). V grobu 253/2 je bila skeletno pokopana odrasla oseba ženskega spola, stara več kot 45 let, kar je podprla tudi analiza starodavne DNK (Nicholls 2022, 171; Fischer, Armit 2022, sl. 162). Kost je bila radiokarbonsko datirana v 9. st. pr. n. št. (sl. 12: Obrežje, gr. 253_2; 13: B; Mason, Kramberger 2022, sl. 47, 69). Pri nogah skeleta je bila najdena majhna skodelica (sl. 13: 3), napolnjena s človeškimi ostanki. Ta zbir je označen kot grob 253/1. Sodeč po rezultatih antropološke analize, so bile v skodelici nežgane kosti (Nicholls 2022, 171).³⁹ Nežgani zob iz skodelice je bil radiokarbonsko datiran v 10. st. pr. n. št. in je verjetno starejši od skeletnega pokopa 253/2 (sl. 12: Obrežje, gr. 253_1; 13 A; Mason, Kramberger 2022, sl. 47, 70). V objavi so navedeni izsledki še ene antropološke analize, opravljene na treh vzorcih (št. vzorcev 3477, 3486 in 3029.1), najdenih v polnilu grobne jame (Šlaus et al. 2022, 153). V

grobju so bile poleg skeleta torej tudi kremirane kosti, ki naj bi pripadale odrasli osebi, a ker niso bile radiokarbonsko datirane, vprašanje o njihovi dataciji ostaja odprto. V grob 253/2 je bil vkopan žgani grob 252 (sl. 13: 1–2; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 494, 793). Poveden je podatek, da sodeč po analizi starodavne DNK ženske, pokopane v grobu 253/2, v njenem genetskem zapisu ni zaznati stepske komponente, kar je zelo nenavadno za to obdobje in prostor (Fischer, Armit 2022, 214).⁴⁰

Popolne in nepopolne inhumacije v Dobovi in na Obrežju – primerjave in poskus interpretacije

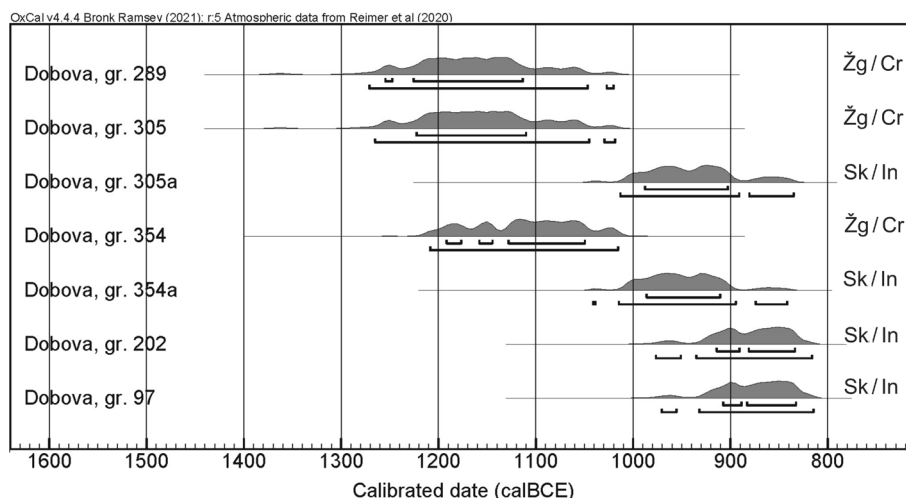
Pri skeletnih grobovih v Dobovi in na Obrežju gre za nenavadne, izredne pokope v okviru sicer planih žganih nekropol z več sto grobovi. Šest novih radiokarbonskih datacij skeletnih grobov iz Dobove in z Obrežja je podprlo njihovo časovno umestitev v pozno bronasto dobo (sl. 12; 14). Dodatni radiokarbonski dataciji dveh žganih grobov, ki sta neposredno navezana na skeletna grobova iz Dobove (grobovi 305 in 305a ter 354 in 354a), sta pokazali, da gre v primeru inhumacij za sekundarne pokope, ki so mlajši od žganih grobov. Ti rezultati odpirajo številna nova vprašanja o pogrebnih običajih poznobronastodobnih skupnosti, na primer, zakaj so bili redki posamezniki pokopani skeletno, pa tudi, kakšni so razlogi za njihov pokop v navezavi na starejši žgani grob. Primer skeletnih ostankov, zbranih v keramični posodi v grobu 305a iz Dobove, ter namensko zdrobljeni, nežgani kostni ostanki, najdeni v majhni skodelici v grobu 253/1 z Obrežja (sl. 13: 3), pričajo o namenskem premeščanju oz. celo manipulaciji skeletnih ostankov in odpirajo vprašanje, v kolikšni meri so poznobronastodobni pogrebni rituali vključevali ekskarnacijo,⁴¹ ekshumacijo in hranjenje posmrtnih ostankov (zunaj nekropole) pred pokopom.

⁴⁰ Za zdaj se zdi, da je stepska komponenta odsotna le v genetskem zapisu bakrenodobnih in bronastodobnih populacij na Sardiniji (glej npr. Scorrano et al. 2021, 226, 230, sl. 2). Za rezultate stabilnih izotopov, ki prav tako nakazujejo, da gre za tujko, glej Nicholls 2017, 253.

⁴¹ Ritual ekskarnacije v slovenski znanstveni literaturi ni bil raziskan. Omenja se ga v povezavi s skeleti iz Ajdovske jame, datiranimi v obdobje 4350–4200 pr. n. št. (Turk 2023, 131). Prav tako ni povsem jasno, ali bi lahko izbrane skeletne ostanke več oseb iz kamnitih grobnic pod gomilami na Mušegu (Istra) interpretirali na tak način (Teßmann 2022, 157).

³⁸ Po obliki in velikosti so podobni še nekateri drugi grobovi na obreškem grobišču (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 68), pri čemer je zanimivo, da so nekateri najstarejši žgani grobovi na grobišču v njihovi bližini.

³⁹ Glej tudi Nicholls 2017, 81, sl. 4.12.



Sl. 14: Radiokarbonske datacije žganih in skeletnih grobov z grobišča Dobova – Gomilice (Žg = žgani grob; Sk = skeletni grob).
 Fig. 14: Time spans of the radiocarbon dating results from cremation and inhumation graves at Dobova – Gomilice (Cr = cremation; In = inhumation).

Otroški skeletni (dvojni?) grob 81 z Obrežja spada po radiokarbonski dataciji v 14. ali na začetek 13. st. pr. n. št. in je tako veliko starejši od vseh preostalih skeletnih grobov na Obrežju in v Dobovi (sl. 6: Obrežje, gr. 81; 12: Obrežje, gr. 81). Ta starejša datacija ga bistveno loči od vseh preostalih skeletnih grobov na obeh grobiščih.⁴² Prav tako velja omeniti, da v neposredni bližini groba 81 ne najdemo grobov iz poznejše faze (Ha A1–A2), temveč so na tem prostoru ponovno začeli pokopavati šele v času Ha A2/B1.⁴³ Mogoče je, da je starejši tudi skeletni grob 98 iz Dobove, v katerem je bila ob glavi skeleta najdena amfora, značilna za stopnjo Ha A (sl. 8: 7), vendar so razpoložljivi podatki dokaj skromni.⁴⁴ Sodeč po novih radiokarbonskih datacijah, se je inhumacija na grobiščih v Dobovi in na Obrežju zagotovo pojavila v 10. st. pr. n. št. Le pri grobu 354a iz Dobove lahko govorimo o potencialno popolni inhumaciji, v njem je bil sicer pokopan otrok (sl. 5; 11). V grobovih 305a iz Dobove in

253/1 z Obrežja so bile nežgane kosti položene v majhne posodice – skodelice (sl. 10: 11; 13: 3), kar pomeni, da je moralo priti pred samim pokopom do posebnih pogrebnih obredij. Pri grobu 253/1 je bilo opaženo, da so bile nežgane kosti namerno zdrobljene. Prav tako so morale biti kosti (odlomki nadlahtnice, podlahtnice, stegenice in medenice) v grobu 305a namerno prelomljene, da so jih lahko položili v 10 cm široko skodelico.

Nenavadno je, da se oba grobova iz Dobove, tako grob 305a v skodelici kot popolni otroški pokop 354a, vežeta na starejša žarna grobova 305 in 354, ki sta sodeč po rezultatih radiokarbonske analize za generacijo ali več starejša od skeletnih pokopov (sl. 10: A–B; 11: A–B; 14). Nasprotno so bili namerno zdrobljeni nežgani ostanki v skodelici iz obreškega groba 253/1, datirani v 10. st. pr. n. št., najdeni pri nogah popolnega skeletnega pokopa 253/2, ki ga radiokarbonska datacija umešča v 9. st. pr. n. št. (sl. 12; 13: A–B; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 140). V isti čas sta bila radiokarbonsko datirana tudi popoln skeletni grob 97 iz Dobove in najverjetneje popoln skeletni grob 202 prav tako iz Dobove, sočasen pa jima je tudi popoln skeletni grob 317 z Obrežja (sl. 15). Ti primeri nakazujejo, da so popolni oz. regularni skeletni pokopi na obeh grobiščih prisotni predvsem v 9. st. pr. n. št., medtem ko so bili kostni ostanki iz 10. st. pr. n. št. sekundarno premeščani oz. celo manipulirani. V razvito (?) stopnjo Ha B lahko uvrstimo tudi skeletne grobove 42, 45 in 210 iz Dobove (sl. 8: 1–6, 8–10; 15), ki sicer niso bili radiokarbonsko datirani in jih je na podlagi grobnih pridatkov težko natančneje časovno opredeliti.

⁴² Pri tem je zanimivo, da je skeletni grob 81 z Obrežja sočasen ali nekoliko mlajši od najstarejših žganih grobov na tem grobišču, npr. z grobom 220 (sl. 6: Obrežje, gr. 220; 12: Obrežje, gr. 81; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 117, sl. 52, 73–74). Tako lahko fenomenu sočasnih skeletnih in žganih grobov sledimo iz srednje bronaste dobe oz. Bd B1, Bd B2/C1 (Teržan 1987, 66; Škvor Jernejčič 2020, 460, 483, sl. 9) tudi v stopnjo Bd C2.

⁴³ Glej tu Kramberger.

⁴⁴ Ker dokumentacija z izkopavanj ni ohranjena, prav tako pa v Posavskem muzeju Brežice ne hranijo kostnih ostankov, je težko z gotovostjo presoditi, ali gre za skeletni ali dvojni biritualni grob in je sodila amfora k žganemu pokopu.

Če strnemo rezultate antropoloških analiz, analiz starodavne DNK in analize grobnih pridatkov, ugotovimo, da so bili na obeh grobiščih skeletno pokopani predvsem otroci in odrasle ženske. Edina izjema je moški grob 317 z Obrežja. Šele pri

skeletnih pokopih iz 9. st. pr. n. št. se v grobovih pojavijo pridatki, ki bi jih lahko označili kot del pokojnikove noše – v treh grobovih par bronastih lasnih obročkov s prepletom, v enem grobu pa keramični vijček (*sl. 15*). Kot smo pokazali,

Grob / Grave	Relativna kronologija / Relative chronology	^{14}C ($1\sigma - 68.3\%$)	Pridatki / Grave goods	Skeletni elementi / Skeletal elements	Opombe / Remarks
Dobova 98	Ha A	/	amfora / amphora	ni podatka / no data	dvojni, biritualni grob? / double, biritual grave?
Dobova 42	Ha B	/	2 lasna obročka s prepletom, odlomki keramike / 2 hair-rings with an interwoven element, fragments of ceramics	popoln skelet / complete skeleton	
Dobova 45	Ha B	/	2 lasna obročka s prepletom / 2 hair-rings with an interwoven element	popoln skelet / complete skeleton	
Dobova 210	Ha B	/	odlomki keramike / fragments of ceramics	ni podatka / no data	
Obrežje 317	Ha B2/B3	/	igla, gumb / pin, button	popoln skelet / complete skeleton	žgane kosti v grobni jami / cremains in burial pit
Dobova 305a		988–903 Cal BC	brez pridatkov, kostni ostanki v skodelici / no grave goods, bone remains in a cup	nepopoln skelet, posamezne kosti / incomplete skeleton, individual bones	vezan na starejši žgan pokop 305 / in connection with older cremation 305
Dobova 354a		987–911 Cal BC	brez pridatkov / no grave goods	popoln skelet / complete skeleton	vezan na starejši žgan pokop 354 / in connection with older cremation 354
Obrežje 253/1		997–917 Cal BC	brez pridatkov, kostni ostanki v skodelici / no grave goods, bone remains in a cup	neobjavljeno / unpublished (glej / see Nicholls 2017, 81–82, sl. 4.12)	vezan na mlajši skeletni pokop 253/2, žgane kosti v grobni jami / in connection with younger inhumation 253/2, cremains in burial pit
Dobova 202		915–834 Cal BC	vijček / spindle whorl	verjetno popoln skelet (v PMB hranijo posamezne kosti) / probably complete skeleton (individual bones are kept in PMB)	pokop na trebuhu / prone burail
Dobova 97		908–833 Cal BC	2 lasna obročka s prepletom / 2 hair-rings with an interwoven element	popoln skelet / complete skeleton	
Obrežje 253/2		896–808 Cal BC	odlomki keramike / ceramic fragments	popoln skelet / complete skeleton	vezan na starejši skeletni pokop 253/1, žgane kosti v grobni jami / in connection with older cremation 253/1, cremains in burial pit

Sl. 15: Tabela obravnavanih skeletnih grobov z grobišč Dobova – Gomilice in Obrežje (PMB = Posavski muzej Brežice).
Fig. 15: Data on the analysed inhumation graves from Dobova – Gomilice and Obrežje (PMB = Posavje Museum Brežice).

gre pri obročkih za lasni oz. naglavni nakit, ki je značilen za nošo ljubljanske, ruške in predvsem dobovske žarnogrobiščne skupine ter se pojavlja izključno v žganih grobovih od stopnje Ha A2/B1 pa vse do konca pozne bronaste dobe v Ha B3. V paru ali posamično so obročki prisotni v IV. skupini ženske pogrebne noše, ki se – glede na druga sočasna grobišča na Pobrežju, v Rušah pa tudi Ljubljani – v Dobovi pojavi v največ grobovih (Teržan 1999, 119, sl. 11: IV). Edina izjema, pri kateri so bili lasni obročki najdeni v skeletnih grobovih, so tu obravnavani skeletni grobovi 42, 45 in 97 iz Dobove ter najdba iz naselbine Ivanovice na Hané, kjer je bila v jamo pokopana, morda celo žrtvovana, odrasla ženska z bogatim nakitom (Parma et al. 2018). Posebno pozornost zbuja njena lega v jami, saj je ležala na trebuhu. Prav tak način pokopa, ki velja v različnih časovnih obdobjih za nenavadnega, je bil zabeležen tudi v skeletnem grobu 202 z glinenim vijčkom v Dobovi (sl. 8: 11, A).⁴⁵ Podatki o legi drugih skeletnih grobov na grobišču v Dobovi žal niso poznani. Ohranile so se le notice Franceta Stareta, da naj bi skeletna grobova 42 in 202 v Dobovi predstavljala mejo med dvema prostoroma ali skupinama žganih grobov oz. različnih družinskih skupnosti, ki so svoje pokopavale na žgani nekropoli (Stare 1960–1961, 191). Nekoliko zapletenejšo sliko kaže lega skeletnih grobov na sodobno izkopanem grobišču na Obrežju.⁴⁶ Grob 317 z Obrežja je sicer ležal med različnimi skupinami starejših grobov, datiranimi od Bd C/D (grob 271) in Ha A (grobovi 268, 310, 357) do Ha A2/B1 (grobovi 278, 331), vendar očitne meje med skupinami žganih grobov na prostoru skeletnega pokopa ni zaslediti. O legi groba 253/1-2 lahko rečemo, da je bil del skupine grobov na vzhodnem delu grobišča. Po legi in dataciji posameznih grobov se zdi, da so okrog najstarejšega groba 235 skozi generacije krožno pokopavali vse do Ha B2/3.

Skeletnim grobovom iz Dobove in z Obrežja v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru ne najdemo primerjav, saj je v pozni bronasti dobi tu prevladoval žgani oz. žarni pokop. Prav tako so za zdaj iz tega prostora nepoznani skeletni pokopi iz sočasnih naselbin ali tik ob njih,⁴⁷ kakršne najdemo na

primer na prostoru knoviške skupine, na severu in severozahodu Češke ter tudi na Moravskem in v Nemčiji (Wiesner 2009, 150–161, 902–907).⁴⁸ Redke skeletne pokope v naselbinah iz časa 11.–9. st. pr. n. št. poznamo tudi z najdišč v Benečiji in Furlaniji – Julijski krajini (Zanoni 2011, 14–18, tab. 7, sl. 122 in tam citirana literatura; Bianchin Citton, Balista, De Angeli 2015). Skeleti, “name-tani” v jamo iz časa Ha B2/3, so bili odkriti tudi na naselbini Stillfried v Avstriji, kjer so najnovejše bioarheološke raziskave razkrile, da ne gre za prišleke (Hellerschmid 2006; Retzmann et al. 2020; Griebel, Biederer 2022).

Tudi na širšem prostoru so primerjave za posamezne skeletne pokope, umeščene znotraj grobišč KŽG z žganimi oz. žarnimi pokopi, dokaj redke. V okviru poznobronastodobnih grobišč ne gre spregledati skeletnega groba na sicer veliki žgani nekropoli Budapest-Békásmegyer na Madžarskem (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 17, 140, sl. 348–349, t. 103: 1–4). Datiran je v stopnjo Ha B2 in spada med mlajše pokope na grobišču, kar ga delno povezuje s popolnimi skeletnimi pokopi iz 9. st. pr. n. št. v Dobovi in na Obrežju, kjer ti prav tako predstavljajo mlajše grobove. V skeletnem grobu na grobišču Budapest-Békásmegyer je bil, sodeč po rezultatih antropološke analize, pokopan odrasel moški v nenavadni, t. i. žabji pozi, na predelu medenice pa je imel velik kamen, kar je poleg samega načina pokopa še dodaten indic, da gre za poseben pokop. Biritualni – skeletni in žgani – grob je znan z najdišča Winklarn na Nižjeavstrijskem in je glede na pogrebni ritual datiran v stopnjo Ha A1 (Miller, Novotny, Spannagl-Steiner 2019). Gre za enega redkih biritualnih grobov iz tega obdobja, saj so tovrstni pokopi v okviru kulture žarnih grobišč v srednji Evropi izredno redki (Wiesner 2009, 998, lista 47).

Inhumacije, datirane v stopnjo *Bronzo Finale* ter torej delno sočasne dobovskim in obreškim grobovom, so bile odkrite tudi na grobiščih v Frattesini (Narde I in II ter Fondo Zanotto) v Benečiji, kjer je sicer prevladoval žgani pokop v žari. Po večini so ti skeletni pokopi brez pridatkov, z izjemo grobov z lasnimi obročki (!), zato jih je težje datirati (De Min 1986; Colonna 2006, 27–28, 40–41; Salzani, Colonna 2010, 182–183, 202–203,

⁴⁵ Za pokope na trebuhu glej npr. Pauli 1975, 144, 175–179; Handler 1996; Reynolds; 2009; Perego 2014, 171, 174, tab. 1; Perego, Tamori, Scopacasa 2020; Alterauge et al. 2020 in tam citirana literatura.

⁴⁶ Glej tu Kramberger.

⁴⁷ Po oddaji članka je bil objavljen skeletni pokop odraslega moškega na trebuhu z naselbine Pungart nad Igom, ki je bil radiokarbonsko datiran v 10. st. pr. n. št.

(Vojaković et al. 2024, 491, 493–494, 497, 506, sl. 3, 4, 7). Skelet novorojenčka, ki je bil najden na Jelenovem klancu v Kranju, je bil datiran na začetek starejše železne dobe (Pavlin et al. 2024, 169–170, sl. 26–27).

⁴⁸ Glej tudi prispevke v zborniku Müller-Scheessel (ur.) 2013.

300, sl. 5, 68, t. 1: B; 10: A). Analize izotopov stroncija so razkrile, da so bili na grobišču Narde skeletno pokopani posamezniki, ki niso bili prišleki, kar pomeni, da izbira načina pokopa ni bila nujno povezana s provenienco pokopanih (Cavazutti et al. 2019, 633, sl. 6). Zanimiva je koncentracija skeletnih grobov iz 9. st. pr. n. št. na prostoru žganih nekropol v zahodni Benečiji. Le en skeletni grob je bil najden na grobišču Via Da Vinci-Palù v bližini Oppeana, sodeč po radiokarbonski dataciji je sočasen dobovskim in obreškimi grobovom iz 9. st. pr. n. št. (Gonzato 2018, 57–59, 96–100, 118, sl. 3). Ker gre za enega najstarejših pokopov na sicer žgani oz. žarni nekropoli, oseba domnevno ženskega spola pa je bila pokopana v nenavadni legi na trebuhu, avtorica interpretira najdbo kot poseben pokop žrtvovane osebe ob vzpostavitvi nekropole (Gonzato 2018, 99). Skeletni otroški grob brez pridatkov je bil najden na sicer žgani nekropoli Gazzo Veronese-Ponte Nuovo, na kateri so pokopavali med 10. in 9. st. pr. n. št. (Salzani 2005, 34, sl. 63, 65). Na bližnjem grobišču Gazzo Veronese-Colombara je bilo prav tako odkritih več skeletnih grobov. V 9. st. pr. n. št. lahko z gotovostjo datiramo le otroški grob 142. V grobno jamo tega groba je bil, tako kot v primeru grobov 253/1-2 na Obrežju, vkopan mlajši žarni grob 143 (Salzani, Morelato 2022, 127–129, 250, sl. 127).⁴⁹ V bližini kraja Oppeano na grobišču Le Franchine sta bila ob žganih pokopih prav tako najdena dva skeletna grobova z lego pokojnikov na trebuhu, oba brez pridatkov (Salzani 1985, 73–74, sl. 91–92). Inhumacije so bile odkrite tudi na žganih grobiščih Este in Padova (Gamba, Voltolini 2018). Najstarejše inhumacije z grobišča Emo Capodilista-Tabacchi v Padovi spadajo že v 9. st. pr. n. št. (Gamba, Gambacurta, Ruta Serafini 2014, 23, 26, t. 47).

Na območju Dolenjske in Spodnjega Posavja se korenite spremembe v pogrebnem ritualu zgodijo šele z nastopom železne dobe, ko se v dolenjski halštatski skupini pojavi in postopno uveljavi skeletni pokop pod gomilo (Teržan 2020, 368; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2023, 613–614 in tam citirana literatura). Upoštevajoč pojav inhumacije, velja izpostaviti enega starejših grobov na nekropoli v Budinjaku, ki je znana predvsem po starejšeželeznodobnih grobovih v gomilah. V skeletnem

grobju 1 iz gomile 98 naj bi bila najdena bronasta igla s čebuličasto glavico, ki je sicer značilna za stopnjo Ha A oz. Ha A2/B1 (Škoberne, Bugar 2017, 76–81, sl. 7.4–7.6, t. 1: 2–3; Teržan 2020, 371).⁵⁰ Presenetljivo je k noši spadala tudi polovica železne ovratnice, saj so bili železni pridatki v stopnji Ha A2/B1 izjemno redki (npr. Trampuž Orel 2012; Teržan 2017; Pare 2017; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020, 155–156). Upoštevajoč to datacijo, se zdi, da segajo začetki inhumacije na Budinjaku morda že v mlajše žarnogrobiščno obdobje in bi lahko spremembe v pogrebnih ritualih razumeli kot daljši proces.

Novejša sinteza o načinu pokopa med južnokarpatško kotlino in zahodnim Balkanom v času med 11. in 8. st. pr. n. št. je pokazala, da so skeletni grobovi iz pozne bronaste dobe, tudi v 9. st. pr. n. št., prisotni predvsem na centralnem Balkanu med rekama Drina in Vrbas (Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2020, sl. 3: 29–40 in tam citirana literatura). Daljšo tradicijo skeletnega pokopavanja je zaznati tudi na grobiščih iz Like, kjer v pozni bronasti dobi najdemo inhumacije sicer skupaj z žganimi pokopi (Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2020, sl. 2: 25–27; 3: 55–57). Posebno pozornost zbujejo skeletni grobovi v medrečju Save in Donave iz Zemuna, Vrdnika, Šarengrada, Sotina in Vukovarja (Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2020, sl. 3: 22–28), ki jih moramo razumeti v luči novosti porajajoče se zgodnje železne dobe in vplivov iz vzhoda.

Vzroki za pojav delnih in popolnih inhumacij v Dobovi in na Obrežju v Ha B so lahko mnogoteri in jih tudi ob podatkih, ki jih prinašajo do sedaj opravljene bioarheološke raziskave, težko razumemo. Zdi se, da maloštevilnih skeletnih grobov iz Dobove in z Obrežja ne gre razlagati enoznačno. Zanimivo je, da gre v skoraj vseh primerih za grobove žena ali otrok. Prav tako je treba poudariti, da se v noši skeletno pokopanih žena zrcali lokalna noša, saj so, kot že omenjeno, lasni obročki s prepletom najpogostejši prav na prostoru dobovske žarnogrobiščne skupine. Rezultati radiokarbonskih analiz skeletnih grobov iz Dobove so tudi nedvomno pokazali, da je bilo grobišče v uporabi še v 9. st. pr. n. št. oz. Ha B3. Da bi najmlajši grobovi v Dobovi lahko spadali še v čas Ha B3, je bilo sicer bolj ali manj upravičeno

⁴⁹ Drugi skeletni grobovi 8, 37, 101, 147, 162, 164, 185, 189, 7/1986 z grobišča Gazzo Veronese-Colombara so brez pridatkov, zato jih ne moremo natančneje datirati (Salzani, Morelato 2022, 28, 52–53, 97, 133–134, 143–146, 163–165, 177–178, tab. 1; Canci 2022, tab. 1).

⁵⁰ Za igle glej Blečić Kavur 2014, 72 ss, sl. 40; tudi Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, 643–647, tab. 1: Gr. 42, t. 6: 27, 29, kjer je bila objavljena radiokarbonska datacija groba 42 iz Kainacha s tovrstno iglo (konec 12./prva polovica 11. st. pr. n. št.).

nakazano že v nekaterih predhodnih študijah (Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 194, 195, 200, sl. 78, t. 85: 3–10; Teržan 1995, 339, op. 49).⁵¹ Po drugi strani preseneča odsotnost bronastih pridatkov, kot so igle (Pabst 2012, 34, op. 115), fibule⁵² in drugi deli ženskega nakita, ki bi spadali v ta čas.

Trajanje pokopavanja vse do konca poznega obdobja kulture žarnih grobišč je zdaj izpričano tudi na grobišču Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 58, 112–113). Primer dvojnega groba 65 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 219, 413–414, 644–647; Šlaus et al. 2022, 130) pa morda celo nakazuje, da bi morali najmlajše grobove z Obrežja datirati že na sam začetek železne dobe. K moški opravi prištevamo tulec (morda del sulične osti) in velik bronast nož s tulastim nastavkom.⁵³ Medtem ko je ženski nakit, predvsem obe fibuli in lasna obročka, še povsem v žarnogrobiščni tradiciji in spada v stopnjo Ha B, pa v bronastem nožu lahko vidimo znanilca zgodnje železne dobe. Podobni noži s tulastim nastavkom različnih tipov so namreč znani s severnoitalskih grobišč in so datirani na sam začetek zgodnje železne dobe oz. v stopnjo *Primo Ferro* 2, konec 9. in v 8. st. pr. n. št. (Bianco Peroni 1976, 45–49, t. 23–27; glej tudi Tovoli 1989, 290, t. 52: 70, 115: 183). Obreškemu primerku je najbolj podoben nož z neznanega najdišča v Benečiji, ki pripada t. i. tipu S. Stefano (Bianco Peroni 1976, t. 27: 203). Tak nož najdemo tudi na grobišču v Brežcu, sicer brez grobnega konteksta (Ruaro Loseri et al.

1977, t. XXI: XXI/1). Zelo podoben neokrašen nož s tulastim nastavkom je bil najden v gomili nad Beljaškimi Toplicami, v bogatem dvojnem grobu z mečem, britvijo in dvema iglama, ki ga prav tako datiramo na sam začetek železne dobe v pozno 9. oz. prvo polovico 8. st. pr. n. št., torej v čas stopnje Ljubljana II, v to obdobje pa spada tudi grob iz Padove, v katerem je bila najdena igla s stožčasto glavico (Müller-Karpe 1953; Říhový 1972, 73, t. 45: D; Gamba, Gambacurta, Ruta Serafini 2014, 179–180, t. 38).⁵⁴

Na samem koncu poznega žarnogrobiščne obdobja ali celo na samem začetku zgodnje železne dobe grobišči v Dobovi in na Obrežju torej zamreta. Radiokarbonsko datirani skeletni pokopi 9. st. pr. n. št. v Dobovi predstavljajo za zdaj najmlajše pokope na grobišču. Ali moramo v njih iskati tudi razlog za prenehanje pokopavanja na tem prostoru, mora do nadaljnjega ostati odprto vprašanje.

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⁵¹ Janez Dular je konec grobišča datiral v stopnjo Dobova IV/Ha B2/Ljubljana Ib (po Gabrovcu) (Dular 1978, 38, 41, sl. 3). Tudi Christopher Pare je zaključek dobovskega grobišča postavil v Ha B3/Ljubljana Ib (po Gabrovcu) oz. v 9. st. pr. n. št. in opozoril na odlomek posode iz dobovskega groba 182, ki naj bi bil okrašen z žigosanjem v stilu *Insula Banului* (Pare 1998, 405, tab. 5; glej tudi Jevtić 1994, 140, t. VIII: 1).

⁵² Za primerjavo fibul iz Dobove in Ljubljane – Dvorišča SAZU glej Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 244, sl. 7.1.

⁵³ Ni izključeno, da je spadal nož k ženski opravi, kot npr. v bogatem grobu 155 v Brežcu (Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977, t. XV: 48).

⁵⁴ Za datacijo groba iz Beljaških Toplic glej Gleirscher 2008; za moške grobove z orožjem z začetka železne dobe glej Škvor Jernejčič 2014d, 145–147, 149, tab. 1.

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Prehistoric cemetery of Dobova – Gomilice: new radiocarbon dating evidence on inhumation and cremation burials

Translation

The first series of radiocarbon dates from the Late Bronze Age settlements and cemeteries, published in the last decade, has significantly advanced our knowledge of the chronology between the 13th and the 9th century BC in the area of the south-eastern Alps.¹ Most samples were taken from settlement contexts and only few from the graves of the Initial and Early Urnfield periods. This is not surprising, as the number of known cemeteries and individual burials from the Br D and Ha A1–A2 periods is low.² Among the rare cemeteries is that at Gomilice in Dobova, which stands out in the region not only because of its large number of Late Bronze Age burials, but also because of the continuity of burial throughout the Late Bronze Age and up to the beginning of the Early Iron Age. As such, it is a crucial site for discussions on the relative chronology and periodisation of the Dobova Urnfield group together with the Dvorišče SAZU cemetery in Ljubljana. Up to now, the chronological position of the cemetery in Dobova has not been corroborated by the results of radiocarbon analyses. We bring this evidence here, with the first radiocarbon results for both cremated and inhumed remains.

Investigations at Dobova revealed an extensive and largely cremation/urn cemetery containing also eight inhumation burials. In order to verify the absolute age of these inhumations and their chronological relationship to the cremation burials from the presumably same graves, the inhumed

remains from Graves 97, 202, 305a and 354a, and the cremated remains from the associated Graves 305 and 354 were sent for radiocarbon analysis to Kiel (Leibniz Labor für Altersbestimmung und Isotopenforschung, Christian-Albrechts-Universität). This was all the more important as the cemetery also included inhumations from the Roman and early medieval periods,³ opening the possibility that some of the eight inhumations might be of a later date. The results of the four uncremated samples have confirmed their dating to the Late Bronze Age. Also sent to Kiel was a cremated bone sample from Grave 289, which is among the richest within the Urnfield culture cemeteries on a supra-regional level, hence our aim was to verify its relative dating that remains a matter of dispute among the researchers (see below).

THE PREHISTORIC CEMETERY AT DOBOVA – GOMILICE

The Late Bronze Age cemetery at Dobova comprises several sites (*Fig. 1*: 1,3,5) lying to the southeast, south and west of the contemporary settlement excavated near the Jože Toporišič Primary School (*Fig. 1*: 2; Plestenjak et al. 2014; Plestenjak 2016; Dular 2021, 453–454, *Fig. 121C/1*).⁴ The cemetery at Gomilice (*Fig. 1*: 1), lying southeast of the settlement, was among the largest. It revealed more than four hundred prehistoric cremation graves and, as will be shown in more detail below, also eight prehistoric inhumations (Stare 1975).⁵

¹ Most results of the radiocarbon analyses for this period are collected in the book edited by Biba Teržan and Matija Črešnar, which contains both contributions for particular sites and a comprehensive overview of the Bronze Age absolute dating (Črešnar, Teržan 2014, 689–702). After 2014, new radiocarbon results have mainly been published in the *Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije* series. For individual new dates, also see Grahek 2017, 108, Note 11, *Fig. 5*; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, *Fig. 3, 6, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, Tab. 2*; Škvor Jernejčič, Leghissa, Brezigar 2022, *Fig. 24*; Kramberger 2024, 571–575, *Fig. 15, 19–20*; Sankovič 2024, *Fig. 6–7*; Bricelj 2024, *Fig. 10–11*; see in this volume Leghissa, Plestenjak; Kramberger.

² See Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 134–139, *Fig. 17*.

³ Stare 1958–1959a, 279; Stare 1958–1959b, 287; Petru 1960–1961, 239–240; Škaler 1960–1961a, 203–204; Škaler 1962–1964, 191–192; Škaler 1965, 198; Knez 1967, 392; Petru 1969.

⁴ For the topography of Dobova during the Bronze Age, see Berden, Pavlin 2021, 198, *Fig. 1*; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 12–13, *Fig. 7*.

⁵ Mitja Guštin posthumously published the cemetery in a monograph of the Posavje Museum Brežice (Stare 1975). For earlier reports and article, see the references in Petru 1975b, 251; Berden, Pavlin 2021, 198, Note 112; Dular 2021, 457, *Fig. 224/1*.

West of the settlement, individual and most likely Early Iron Age cremations came to light at Savnikova gramoznica in Sela near Dobova (*Fig. 1: 5*; Stare 1954a; Petru 1975a, 252; Dular 2021, 451, *Fig. 221A/1*). Three Late Bronze Age graves were found south of the settlement, at a site called Humek or Humekova hiša (*Fig. 1: 3*; Guštin 1982, 190–191; Guštin 1990, 16–19; Teržan 1995, 358, 360, *Fig. 27*; Berden, Pavlin 2021; Dular 2021, 452, *Fig. 221B/1*). Nearby, prehistoric sherds were also unearthed during the trial trenching at a petrol station (*Fig. 1: 4*; Mason 1998).

Shortly after the monographic publication of the Dobova cemetery, Janez Dular proposed its first relative chronology (Dular 1978). Using a combinatorial analysis or seriation method, he classified the graves into four combinatory groups that represented four chronological phases of the cemetery: Dobova I/Ha A1, Dobova II/Ha A2, Dobova III/Ha B1 and Dobova IV/Ha B2 (Dular 1978, 36–38, *Fig. 1, 3*). Italian archaeologists discussed the relative chronology of the cemetery using a similar method, albeit with slightly different results, and likewise identified four chronological phases (Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 193–198, 200–201, Pl. 82–85, *Fig. 78–82*); they attributed the earliest graves to the Dobova I/Ha A2 phase, while the last graves were ascribed to the Dobova IV phase, set at the very end of the Late Bronze Age, to the Ha B3 period. Christopher Pare held a similar view, dating the beginning of the Dobova cemetery to Ha A2/Dobova I–II and correlating the Dobova III phase with Ha B1 and the Dobova IV phase with Ha B3 (Pare 1998, 405, Tab. 5). Biba Teržan further commented Dular's chronology and identified the beginnings of the Dobova cemetery in the Ha A2 period. She found the dating of the Dobova I and II phases to be problematic, seeing them not as chronologically consecutive, but rather as differences in the contemporary female and male attire (Teržan 1995, 338–339, 359–360; Teržan 1999, 138), a possibility that Dular had also raised (Dular 1978, 34). In connection with the Dobova II phase, Peter Turk indicated a broader dating of the key artefact of this phase, namely the pin with a bulb-like head and a thickened decorated neck, and also suggested the possibility of correlating the earliest burials from Dobova with the hoards of his Horizon II (Turk 1996, 119–120). Considering the currently available evidence, this is the most likely possibility, hence we may attribute the roughly contemporary burials of the joined Dobova

I and II phases to the span of Ha A, i.e. the 12th and first half of the 11th century BC.⁶

URN GRAVE 289 FROM DOBOVA – GOMILICE

The project of radiocarbon dating cremated and unburned remains from Dobova included a sample from Grave 289. In it, cremated remains and grave goods were found inside a spouted vessel covered with a dish with an inverted rim (*Fig. 2: 1–2*). The anthropological analysis published in the monograph states that the grave held the remains of an adult individual of undetermined sex who died between the ages of 20 and 25 (*Fig. 5*; Piontek, Tomazo-Ravnik, Štefančič 1975, Tab. A). The more recent anthropological analysis could also not determine the sex, but did suggest the individual might have been slightly younger, a juvenile aged between 13 and 19, and revealed that the bones exhibited changes caused by inflammation that had not healed by the time of death (*Fig. 5*).⁷ Furthermore, the human remains were mixed with animal bones, more precisely four fragments of burnt bones of a small herbivore.⁸ The human bone sample (KIA-54730) was radiocarbon dated to 2955 ± 35/–30 BP with the 2σ range (95.4%) of 1272–1047 Cal BC and the 1σ range (68.5%) of 1226–1114 Cal BC (*Fig. 2: A*).

There are different opinions as regards the dating of one of the richest graves at Dobova (*Fig. 2: 1–2; 3, 4*). Writing before the 1975 monograph, Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini dated it to the late 13th or the 12th century BC, correlating it with her Phase II of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia (1230–1100 BC) or Ha A1 period (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 117; Vinski-Gasparini 1974, 12). Dular also dated

⁶ A detailed chronological study of the whole Dobova cemetery, which is certainly a desideratum, is beyond the scope of this article. The possibility of an earlier beginning of the cemetery, as well as a redefinition of the Dobova I and II phases, and their delimitation with the subsequent Dobova III phase, must therefore remain open. As for the methodological approach of Dular's chronology (see above), we would add that only a comprehensive study of the pottery (in addition to new radiocarbon analyses) would provide answers to the many chronological questions, since metal goods were found in only one fifth of all the graves (Teržan 1999, *Fig. 9a*), making the seriation method, which mainly relies on bronze goods, less than optimal for identifying the different phases of the cemetery.

⁷ Analysis by Tamara Leskovar.

⁸ Analysis by Borut Toškan.

it to Ha A1, a dating later also adopted by Stane Gabrovec (Dular 1978, 37, 41; Gabrovec 1983, 56). Teržan argued that the fragment of a twisted bow (Fig. 4: 16) does not belong to a violin-bow fibula, as suggested by Vinski-Gasparini, but rather to a bow fibula, thus indirectly dating the grave to Ha A2 (Teržan 1995, 339, Notes 44–47). Sabine Pabst shared this opinion and leaned toward dating the Dobova grave to Ha A2/B1 (Pabst 2008, 628; Pabst 2012, Note 113 on p. 34, Note 9 on p. 116, Note 770 on pp. 230–231). Svend Hansen attributed the grave to Ha B (Hansen 1994, 242, Notes 50–51), a dating he primarily based on the two crescent-shaped pendants (Fig. 4: 12–13; see below). Italian archaeologists also dated the grave to Ha B1 (Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 194, Fig. 78).

Urn Grave 289 ranks among the richest graves of the Dobova cemetery not only in the great number of grave goods, but also in the presence of exceptional jewellery pieces such as pendants/amulets, a glass bead, torques with rings, and cuff-shaped bracelets (Fig. 3–4).⁹ Also unique is the combination of torques, bracelets and a fibula, which has only been documented in this grave of the entire cemetery where burial took place over five centuries.¹⁰ The torque-bracelet-fibula combination is absent even in Dobova's Grave H, which is linked to Grave 289 by the openwork cuff-shaped bracelet and a torque with bronze rings (Stare 1975, Pl. 3: 1–10). Another exceptional feature is the great number of torques as no less than seven were present in the grave (Fig. 3),¹¹ a number that remains unparalleled in the broader area (e.g. Škvor

Jernejčič 2018, 178–179, Fig. 12).¹² Several torques were found in the newly published Grave 3 from Obrežje, which also held a hollow pendant¹³ and a fragment of a twisted bow of a fibula presumably of the violin-bow type (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 608, G366, G371–G375). A cremated bone sample from this grave was radiocarbon dated to the end of the 14th or, more likely, first half of the 13th century BC (Fig. 6: Obrežje, Grave 3), making it one of the earliest burials containing a set of bronze torques, apparently even earlier than Grave 289 from Dobova. A nearly identical radiocarbon date was obtained for double Grave 226 from Kainach near Wildon (Fig. 6: Kainach, Grave 226) that held a cuff-shaped bracelet with outwardly rolled ends and fragments of at least two torques, one of which may have been bent to form a bracelet. The anthropological analysis suggests that two individuals were buried in this grave, one an adolescent and the other a child aged 4–8 (Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, 634–641, Note 21, Tab. 1: Grave 226; Pl. 1: 5,9–11).¹⁴ Similar cuff-shaped bracelets with outwardly rolled ends have also been found in rich child graves at Dedinka and Zurndorf,¹⁵ as well as in Grave H at Dobova (Kunstelj 2018, 201–202, Fig. 1, 3 with references). The last grave can be directly linked to Grave 289, as both contained openwork cuff-shaped bracelets and torques with rings (Fig. 3: 4,7; 4: 22,24–25,27). Dular identified parallels for the openwork cuff-shaped bracelets¹⁶ in the similar bracelets from Mels and Padnal in Switzerland; these, however,

⁹ For the combinations of grave goods and analysis of the burial attires in the Dobova cemetery, see Teržan 1995, 340–342, Fig. 12–13; Teržan 1999, 115–116, 119, Fig. 11.

¹⁰ Such a combination of jewellery may also have been present in Grave 111 from Dobova, but its fragmented state makes it impossible to be certain (Stare 1975, 30, Pl. 19: 3–5). Other cemeteries also revealed only one burial with such a jewellery combination or dress, at Obrežje for example in Grave 106 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 686–687), at Brinjeva gora-Gračič in Grave 31 (Koprivnik 2021, 234–236, Pl. 12: 1,3–4; Koprivnik, Teržan 2021, 287, Fig. 4: Grave 31) and at Dvorišče SAZU in Ljubljana in Grave 54 (Škvor Jernejčič 2018, 176, 178, Tab. 2: Grave 54), but these burials are later, as the new radiocarbon dating of Grave 289 from Dobova confirmed (Fig. 2: A).

¹¹ In Stare's primary publication, the fragments were reconstructed to constitute a set of six torques, while the later publication by Gabrovec proposes seven torques (Stare 1975, Pl. 41: 4, 5, 10; Gabrovec 1983, Pl. VII: 3, 5, 7, 13, 17, 22; VIII: 4).

¹² The list of graves with multiple torques should be extended with Graves 3, 72 and 242 from Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 95); for Brinjeva gora-Gračič also see Koprivnik 2021, Pl. 18: 8–11.

¹³ The catalogue states the object may be the tip of a spearhead, which seems less likely. For such pendants (*trichterförmige Blechanhänger*) or a sort of appliques, which are characteristic of the Initial and Early Urnfield period, see Jankovits 2017, 259–284, 286–287, Pl. 140. Such pendants/appliques also came to light in the River Ljubljana (Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 122, Pl. 36: 260–262).

¹⁴ Gutjahr and Windholz-Konrad believe the radiocarbon dating to be too early, as they attribute the grave to Ha A1 (Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, 635, Pl. 1).

¹⁵ The grave from Zurndorf held the remains of a girl aged 5–7 (Helgert 1995). The small size of the ring jewellery suggests that the grave at Dedinka also very likely held a young person/child (Paulik 1984).

¹⁶ The cuff-shaped bracelet (Fig. 4: 22) is apparently partly erroneously reconstructed in the monograph (Stare 1975, Pl. 40: 16), as it actually only has three openings, as the other examples, rather than four.

date to the Middle Bronze Age and partially differ from the Dobova examples in both shape and decoration (Frei 1955; Dular 1978, 37, Note 6). More recent finds of such bracelets came to light at Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 95–97, Fig. 41: Z1). The two authors follow the dating of the Dobova bracelets by Vinski-Gasparini and Dular, and date the examples from Obrežje to Ha A1.¹⁷ However, the Obrežje examples differ slightly as they only have two, not three, openings and appear to have raised contours rather than smooth,¹⁸ suggesting they should be paralleled with a similar openwork cuff bracelet from Grave 186 at Dobova, which is later (Stare 1975, Pl. 26: 9; Teržan 1995, 339, Note 44).

In addition to the four openwork cuff-shaped bracelets, Grave 289 contained four band-shaped bracelets with a central ridge (Fig. 4: 15, 17, 19, 21). Dular identified these as early elements, known from the hoards of Horizon II after Vinski-Gasparini, such as the Zagreb-Medvedgrad hoard, and from a grave at Martijanec (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 72–73, Pl. 25: 8–9; 75A: 1–6; Vinski-Gasparini 1983, 571, 579, Pl. LXXXVII: 11–12). This is yet another indication that the ring jewellery from Grave 289 at Dobova dates as early as Br D/Ha A1.

Opinions also differ regarding the typochronological attribution of the fragment of the twisted bow fibula from Grave 289 (Fig. 4: 16). Vinski-Gasparini was the first to discuss this fragment and included it in her study of the violin-bow fibulae from Yugoslavia, in which she dated Grave 289 to Br D/Ha 1, i.e. to the end of the 13th/12th century BC (Vinski-Gasparini 1974, 12–13, 15, Fig. 1, Pl. VII: 1). Teržan questioned this attribution, arguing that it represented a later fibula type, namely a bow fibula with a twisted bow, and dated the Dobova grave to Ha A2 (Teržan 1995, 339, Notes 44–47; also see Pabst 2008, 628; Pabst 2012, Note 113 on p. 34, Note 9 on p. 116, Note 770 on pp. 230–231). Understanding the typochronological development of the violin-bow fibulae with a twisted bow remains challenging, primarily due to the poor preservation and fragmentation of these fibulae. However, the new finds of such fibulae

with a more or less asymmetrical, raised twisted violin bow from central Italy suggest that the bow began to arch no later than the late 13th and first half of the 12th century BC, in *Bronzo recente* 2 and *Bronzo finale* 1 (Savella 2015, 19–22, 132–133, Pl. 10: 48–56; 11: 57–59).

Particularly noteworthy is a recently published fibula with an asymmetrically arched and twisted violin bow that came to light during the excavations of a settlement at Campestrin (Grignano Polesine, Rovigo) in Veneto (Salzani et al. 2020, 37, Fig. 1C: RR 21; 10: 11). This example confirms that the development of the fibulae with a parallel violin bow into those with a raised, either straight or curved, asymmetrical bow occurred simultaneously in both the fibulae with two knobs on the bow and those with a twisted bow (cf. Savella 2015, 132–133; Pabst 2018, 147–153, Fig. 9: 2) and should be dated to the above-mentioned span of the late 13th and early 12th centuries BC. With this in mind, it seems possible to include the fragment of the small fibula with a twisted bow from Grave 289 at Dobova in the aforementioned development of fibula forms, although its poor condition renders it less relevant for discussing the evolution of the violin-bow fibulae.

Evidence supporting a later dating of Grave 289, to late Ha A2 or Ha A2/B1, may be found in the barrel-shaped bead of green glass with white/grey rings (Fig. 4: 5). A recent systematic study of such beads has shown that they were used over a long period, with the earliest examples in Italy and elsewhere in Europe dating to the 13th/12th century BC. They were particularly common in Ha A2 and Ha A2/B1, while later beads come from Ha B1/B2 contexts (Bellintani, Angelini 2020, 84–91, Tab. 2: Types 12, 13). The barrel-shaped beads of LMHK (low magnesium–high potassium) glass found in the pile-dwelling site at Hauterive-Champréveyres on Lake Neuchâtel have been absolutely dated to 1050–1030 BC. Interestingly, as in Dobova, two such beads were found together with bronze saltaleoni, suggesting that the beads and saltaleoni were strung on a cord (Rychner-Faraggi 1993, 63–65, Fig. XI, XV, 78, Pl. 115: 3–4). The closest parallel for the bead from Dobova is a glass bead from the settlement at Medvode – Svetje, where it was found in a refuse pit alongside pottery sherds and dated to Ha A (Leghissa et al. 2023, 436–437, Fig. 2–4); the beads from Medvode – Svetje and Dobova are thus among the early such beads in the south-eastern Alpine area. The glass analyses of both beads revealed similar, though not identical

¹⁷ The radiocarbon dates for the cremated bone from Grave 357 at Obrežje are not relevant, as the result of the first dating (LTL19668A) is 3274 ± 45 BP and the other (LTL21412) is 2696 ± 45 BP (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 118, Fig. 47, 60, 62, 73–74).

¹⁸ Similar raised contours can also be found on a bracelet fragment from the Otok-Privlaka hoard (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, Pl. 28: 53).

compositions, suggesting they very likely belong to the group of beads made of LMHK glass (Šmit, Laharnar, Turk 2020, 8, Fig. 1: 11; 5, Tab. 2: 11; Leghissa et al. 2023, 439–441, Fig. 7, Tab. 1). Such beads are most often associated with production centres at Frattesina in the Po Plain, dated possibly already to the 12th, but mainly to the 11th and 10th centuries BC. The glass analyses have shown that the beads of LMHK glass appeared in Italy in the 12th century BC, replacing earlier bead types of HMG (high magnesium glass) (Angelini, Gratuze, Artioli 2019, 112, 114–115). More or less contemporary with the barrel-shaped decorated beads from Dobova and Medvode are the glass beads from Graves 57 and 60 at Limska Gradina, from the Istra I phase (Mihovilić 1972, 29–30, 33, Pl. 26: 23; 30: 4–5; also see Blečić Kavur 2014, 63–65, Fig. 29; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2015, 15, Fig. 5: 2A). In addition to the LMHK beads from northern Italy, we should also mention the beads from the Moravian sites at Tuchoměřice and Řepín, which are very similar in composition to those from Frattesina and are dated to Ha A (12th and first half of the 11th century BC) (Šulová 2006; Venclová 1990, 220; Venclová et al. 2011, 561–562, 567–569, Fig. 3: 736–737, 746–747, Tab. 1).

The exceptional character of Grave 289 from Dobova is further underscored by the presence of the jewellery pieces that in the Initial/Early Urnfield period occur almost exclusively in hoards. These pieces include phalerae of the Nadap-Poljanci type, decorated with concentric rings or ribs (Fig. 4: 23; Tarbay 2019, 371–373, 375–377, Fig. 6). Apart from Dobova, they were only found in one other burial, namely Grave 8 at Drljanovac (Majnarić-Pandžić 1988, Pl. VI: 1; Dular 2002, Fig. 37: 8). Larger phalerae were parts of the headdress or belts of female costumes and were placed singly in rich graves (Teržan 2016, 296–297). Only the cemeteries at Dobova and Obrežje include graves with two or even three phalerae (Fig. 4: 18, 20, 23; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 102, 783–785).¹⁹ Combined with buttons and sewn onto garments, these are found in cemeteries in Posavje, Podravje, the Kras and Istria.

Also unique in Grave 289 is the set of seven bronze pendants in the shape of the letters X-O-I, most of which have parallels from numerous hoards.

Particularly important in this sense is the presence of a trio of X-O-I pendants (Fig. 4: 8, 11, 14), which were undoubtedly made in a two-part mould and have parallels that come almost exclusively from hoards, whereas their occurrence in grave contexts is extremely rare, as for example in Grave II of the tumulus at Dedinka in Slovakia (Paulík 1984, 35, Fig. 6A: 1–3; Paulík 1986, 94–95) or in Grave 3 in the cemetery at Gemeinlebarn, in Lower Austria (Szombathy 1929, 46–47, Pl. 16: 1, 5, 7). Such a combination of pendants is probably not coincidental and has been described in literature as a ‘triad’ of symbolic signs, the significance of which likely transcends the merely protective or magical function of amulets and can be associated with the religious beliefs in the Middle Danube Basin during the Initial and Early Urnfield periods (cf. Schmidtová, Baxa, Paulík 2002, 286–287; Müller-Karpe 2003).

The trio of O-shaped pendants from Dobova comprise one wheel-shaped and two differently sized crescent-shaped examples (Fig. 4: 12–14). The wheel-shaped pendant belongs to the Bingula-Divoš type, which is otherwise only known from hoards, dating to the Initial and Early Urnfield periods (Pabst 2012, 410, Map 41.3; Jankovits 2017, 185–188, Pl. 69: 2465, 2469, 2472). The two crescent-shaped pendants,²⁰ as mentioned above, served as an argument for the later dating of Grave 289 to Ha B (Hansen 1994, 242, Notes 50–51) as they occur in the western part of central Europe predominantly in Late Urnfield contexts (Kossack 1954, 76, 84, 96–97, Pl. 15: 15–16; 25; Wels-Weyrauch 1978, 126–127, Pl. 42: 748; 44: 754–761; 122: 759). The same applies to the pendants from Hauterive-Champréveyres, dated to 1050–1030 BC (Rychner-Faraggi 1993, 53, 70, Fig. 78, Pl. 80: 21–24). However, a similar pendant from a well in Germering near München, unearthed in a layer from Br D2 or Ha A1, indicates that crescent- or razor-shaped pendants could also be earlier (Scheffzik 2012, 46, Fig. 2–3, 6B: 3). Supporting evidence is urn Grave 31 with such a pendant from

¹⁹ The presence of three phalerae and in two cases two pairs of bracelets and three pairs of torques in Grave 289 even led Teržan to suggest the grave contained the burial of several individuals (Teržan 2016, 296).

²⁰ The term razor-shaped pendant (*Rasiermesseranhänger*) is also used in literature, suggesting the formal similarity between these pendants and the crescent-shaped razors, but also raising the question of the symbolic/functional use of such pendants/amulets as razors. See, for example, the double-edged crescent-shaped razor from the Hötting cemetery, which has a wheel-shaped widening on the handle (Wagner 1943, Pl. 3: 10). A formal similarity can also be observed between the spear-shaped pendants and razors (e.g. Jockenhövel 1980, 84–85, Pl. 13: 240–241).

the Straubing-Königreich cemetery, which dates to the Initial Urnfield period (Wels-Weyrauch 1991, 82, Pl. 28: 702). Particularly interesting is the distribution of these pendants, which appears connected with the western part of central Europe, as noted above (Kossack 1954, 96–97, Pl. 25; Jakob-Friesen 1969, 136, Fig. 7; Pankau 2024, 70–71, Fig. 16: 8, Map 4).²¹

Also convex in shape is the spear-shaped pendant dating from the Early Urnfield period to the end of the Bronze Age (Fig. 4: 11; Hansen 1994, 248–251, 607, Fig. 158; Jankovits 2017, 223, 227–231, Pl. 77: 2930–2940; 78–79; 80: 3004; 140; Pankau 2024, 66–67, Fig. 16: 3). At Dobova, the second trio consists of X-shaped pendants in the form of an hourglass and in various variants (Fig. 4: 8–10). They were discussed by Kossack, while more recent studies bring an expanded list of sites (Kossack 1954, 23, 41, 97–98, Pl. 20; Kacsó 1995, 97–99, List 3; Jankovits 2017, 217–222, Pl. 76: 2893–2907; 77: 2908–2924; 140). We may further expand this list to include a mould for making such items, which was found at Teleac in Transylvania (Ciugudean 2009, 69, Pl. X: 2a). Hourglass-shaped pendants were primarily used during Br D/Ha A or the Initial and Early Urnfield periods. This is also the dating for the pendants from Dobova, which makes them likely contemporaneous with the earliest examples unearthed at sites in the eastern Carpathians or western Transylvania. In Slovenia, they are also known from cremation Grave 174/2 of the Dvorišče SAZU cemetery in Ljubljana that is dated to Ha A (Puš 1978; Puš 1982, 145, Pl. 49; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 146–147, Fig. 4.144: 2).²² We believe that the examples from the Čermožišče hoard, the cremation graves in Maribor and Pobrežje, already mentioned by Kacsó, are typologically slightly different. Similarly, the pendants from the grave at Ruše are narrower and the loop-body junction lacks a ‘neck’ (Müller-Karpe 1959, Pl. 112D: 3,5). Amália Mozsolics hypothesised that the neck height might be chronologically diagnostic, with the early examples having a higher neck and later ones a shorter neck, whereas Carol Kacsó used

the pendants from Romanian hoards to show that even earlier examples may have a shorter neck (Mozsolics 1985, 62; Kacsó 1995, 98). The hourglass-shaped pendants persisted into the Late Urnfield period. Among the later examples are the above-mentioned pendants from the Maribor and Pobrežje cemeteries in the Podravje region, as well as the pendants from Vukovar-Lijeva Bara and Dalj-Busija (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, Pl. 125: 10; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 456–457, Pl. 71: 11).

To summarise, the typo-chronological analysis and particularly the new radiocarbon dating reveal that Grave 289 from Dobova dates to Ha A1 (first half of the 12th century BC) at the latest. The radiocarbon analysis shows it to be contemporaneous with Grave 305 from Dobova (see below) and Grave 20 from Obrežje, the latter containing a globular urn with a hole, a pin with spirally coiled head and two rings (Fig. 6: Obrežje, Grave 20; Mason, Kramberger 2022, Fig. 47, 59, 73–74, 616, 617: GR 20). Also close are the dates for Grave 326 from Dvorišče SAZU in Ljubljana, containing a jug, a dish with an inverted rim and a ceramic spindle whorl (Fig. 6: Ljubljana, Grave 326; Škvor Jernejčič 2021, 120–121, tab. 2, Fig. 7, 18, 19, Pl. 1: 1–3), and the double grave of an adult woman and a child from Slatina (Fig. 6: Slatina, Grave 15 G; Ložnjak Dizdar et al. 2018, 92–93, 96–97, 102–103).²³ In the latter, the cremated remains of the child were found in an amphora similar to that from Grave 305 at Dobova (see below), while the biconical vessel serving as the urn for the cremated remains of the woman has parallels from Grave 1 at Graz, which is radiocarbon dated to the very same period (Heymans 2020, 269–270, 320, Fig. 3–4, Pl. 3: Grave 1) (Fig. 6: Dobova, Grave 305, Graz, Grave 1). This group of graves should also include those from Ljubljana, Matena and Kainach near Wildon (Fig. 6: Ljubljana, Grave 146, grave from Ljubljana-NUK, grave from Matena, Kainach, Grave 114). The numerous parallels between the bronze jewellery from Grave 289 and the rich hoards of mixed composition found in the Sava-Drava interfluvium, as well as the rare cremation graves we have mentioned, correlate Grave 289 from Dobova with Phase II of the Urnfield culture (1230–1100 BC) as defined by Vinski-Gasparini (Vinski-Gasparini 1973).

²¹ Not a single example can be found in the study on the pendants from Hungary (Jankovits 2017), nor can they be found in hoards from Croatia that, in contrast, include other types of X-O-I pendants.

²² Puš published the necklace with pendants as a find without a burial context. Archival documentation shows, however, that it was found in a damaged cremation grave together with the coil of a spectacle fibula (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 76–77, Pl. 87: 1–2).

²³ Two radiocarbon dates (coarse and fine fractions) have been published for Grave 15 from Slatina, which largely overlap (Fig. 6: Slatina, Grave 15 G, Slatina, Grave 15 F).

Commentary on the radiocarbon dating

In addition to the results of the sample/context age, we also publish the data on the splitting factor (SF), the carbon content (wt%) and the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values (‰) of the samples taken from cremation graves, as these are essential for assessing the reliability of the obtained results (Fig. 7). For the sample from Grave 289 (KIA-54730), the SF value is > 5 , indicating the bones were calcinated (burned at high temperatures), which is a prerequisite for a reliable result. Additionally, the carbon content does not exceed 0.5% by weight, thereby excluding the possibility of contamination that would significantly affect the result. Further corroboration of the reliability of the obtained result is the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value, which is $-26.0 \pm 0.7\text{‰}$.²⁴

PREHISTORIC INHUMATION BURIALS AT DOBOVA – GOMILICE

Apart from revealing one of the richest burials in the south-eastern Alpine area, the Dobova cemetery is also special in its inhumation burials. The 1975 monograph includes five inhumations: Graves 97, 98, 202, 305a and 354a (Stare 1975, 14, 29–30, 32, 34–35; Piontek, Tomazo-Ravnik, Štefančič 1975). Our new analysis of the archival records kept in the Posavje Museum Brežice and the preliminary reports in *Varstvo spomenikov* reveal further three: Graves 42, 45 and 210; this makes altogether eight inhumations.

Inhumation Grave 42

A report Stare published in 1960 states that this grave held the burial of a woman with two hair rings with an interwoven element (Fig. 8: 1–2; Stare 1960, 87, 95, Fig. 8: 4–5) and the sherds of three different vessels (Fig. 8: 3–4), the latter unearthed just above the skeleton. Stare's description locates the grave in the centre of the necropolis (Stare 1960, 88). The monograph lists the items with Inv. Nos. PM124–PM127 as the goods of this grave, but

the bronze hair rings were believed to be missing and only two pottery sherds were drawn (Stare 1975, Pl. 11: 4–6). The Posavje Museum Brežice holds no skeletal remains from this grave, making radiocarbon analysis impossible.

Inhumation Grave 45

This grave, also located in the central part of the necropolis, reportedly held the remains of a woman buried with two bronze rings with an interwoven element (Fig. 8: 5–6) and a semicircular-sectioned bronze ring (Stare 1960, 87, 88, 95; Fig. 8: 7–8). The rings with an interweavement were found near the ear bones, the semicircular-sectioned ring at the right leg. The monograph and the inventory records of the Posavje Museum Brežice note that all three rings are lost (Stare 1975, 28). The museum holds no skeletal remains from this grave, making radiocarbon analysis impossible.

Inhumation Grave 97

Unearthed on 24 June 1953,²⁵ Grave 97 was transferred to the Posavje Museum Brežice *en bloc*. It is one of the few graves from the cemetery with a recorded plan, grave construction and disposition of grave goods.²⁶ It was enclosed with a ring of cobbles (Fig. 9).²⁷ For many years, the skeleton, grave goods and stone ring were exhibited in the museum (Gabrovec 1956, 45). The first and the new anthropological analysis showed the skeleton belonged to a woman (Fig. 5). The former analysis identified her as an older adult (*maturus*) woman, while the latter suggested an adult aged between 25 and 35 years. No pathological changes were observed on the bones, though it was found that the woman had lost her teeth already before death. The sample of uncremated bone (KIA-54726) was radiocarbon dated to 2742 ± 29 BP or 933–815 Cal BC ($2\sigma - 95.4\%$) (Fig. 9: A). According to the publication from 1975, two bronze hair rings with an interwoven element (Fig. 9: 1–2) were found on either side of the head.

²⁴ See e.g. De Mulder, Van Strydonck, Boudin, 2009, 566, who state that the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value is not necessarily a good indicator of sample contamination. The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values between -12 in -15‰ may indicate less carbon exchange between the bone and the fuel during the cremation process, or a higher initial $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value in the apatite (see comments from the laboratory in Škvor Jernejčič 2014c, 384–385).

²⁵ Data from the inventory book of the Posavje Museum Brežice.

²⁶ The documentation from Stare's excavations is missing, hence there is also no plan of the cemetery, only the data for Graves A–I, 1–34 is available (Stare 1951; Stare 1953).

²⁷ Gabrovec mentions there was a ring of large stones around the head (Gabrovec 1956, 46).

Hair rings with an interwoven element

The hair rings from Graves 42 and 97 survive complete and belong to the variant with an interwoven element, as France Stare had already identified; he was also the first to list and analyse such hair rings (Stare 1960, 85–88, 95–96, Fig. 4). He saw them as pieces of the female costume dating to the developed Ha B phase. He proposed that those with a *de facto* interweaved part might predate those with a false interweavement. Dular concurs that the hair rings with an interwoven element only appear in Phase III of the Dobova cemetery (Ha B1), while Italian archaeologists date them to the last, Phase IV (Ha B3) (Dular 1978, 38, combination table; Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 194, Pl. 85: 10). Lucija Grahek supplemented Stare's distribution map of the bronze hair rings with an interwoven element (Grahek 2004, 150–151, Fig. 40).²⁸ The hair rings found in the Bingula-Divoš and Brodski Varoš hoards, in the pile-dwelling settlement at Wollishofen on Lake Zurich and in a grave at Spodnje Radvanje²⁹ were made of single wire and should, in our opinion, be distinguished from those made of double wire. The more recent finds of bronze hair rings with an interwoven element include two examples from Grave 25 at Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 621: 405–406, Fig. 42: G405–G406). The urn in this grave, with a cylindrical neck, everted rim and grooved shoulder, suggest the burial dates to Br D/Ha A1. It is very similar to the urn from Grave 32 at Obrežje that has been radiocarbon dated to the 13th century BC (Fig. 6: Obrežje, Grave 32; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 75–76, 110, 624, 625: 420, Fig. 47, 55). A single hair ring with an interwoven element was also found in urn Grave 43 at Balatonmagyaród-

Hídvégpuszta, in Hungary (Boulud 2002, Pl. 30: 2). It seems that the rings of single wire predate those of double wire and already occur in Br D/Ha A1. Supporting this is a ring with an interweavement of single wire, found in the grave of a girl buried at Dedinka, Slovakia and, also dated to Br D/Ha A1 (Paulík 1984, Fig. 6A: 5).

The more recent finds of rings with an interwoven element from the cemeteries at Žadovinek near Krško (Pavlin, Bavec 2017, 90–91, Pl. 5: 4), Pobrežje (Koprivnik 2021, 194, Pl. 9: 3) and Obrežje (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 99, 647, Fig. 42: G512–G513) show that such rings appeared in Ha A2/B1, hence slightly later than those of single wire, and remained in use until the end of the Late Bronze Age (9th century BC); this dating is also corroborated by the radiocarbon analysis of inhumation Grave 97 from Dobova (Fig. 9: A). The hair rings from Grave 45 are less well-preserved (Fig. 8: 5–6), which is surprising given their discovery in an inhumation. We should note they are smaller than those from inhumation Graves 42 and 97. Due to their fragmentary condition, they can only tentatively be identified as hair rings with an interwoven element made of single wire.

To summarise, the hair rings with a false interwoven element made of two wires were part of the Late Bronze Age female attire characteristic primarily of cremation graves in the Ljubljana, Dobova and Ruše Urnfield groups, while they exceptionally also occur in three inhumations from Dobova. In connection with these three inhumations from Dobova, we should mention a hair ring with an interwoven element of the Velem-Szentvid type,³⁰ found beside the skeleton of a woman buried in a pit in the settlement at Ivanovice na Hané in Moravia (Parma et al. 2018). Excavators interpret this find as evidence of a sacrifice of a high-status individual, possibly as part of a votive act. The skeleton was sampled and radiocarbon dated to the late 11th or the 10th century BC. The woman wore exceptionally rich jewellery comprising the hair ring, two necklaces, bracelets, rings, a dress pin and a fibula, some of which – the hair ring included – very likely originated from the south-eastern Alpine region (Parma et al. 2018, 330). The combination of the jewellery pieces is unique and may indicate the deceased held a high social status. However, the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr isotope analysis indicates she most likely was not a foreigner.

²⁸ For the comment that some fragments belong to fibulae rather than hair rings, see Pavlin, Bavec 2017, 91. We should also mention a hair ring from Mokronog (Gabrovec 1973, Pl. 5: 21), which may belong to the Balta Verde type (Gumă 1995, 248, Pl. 4; Pabst 2012, 413, Map 44.2, where the example from Mokronog is not mentioned) and not to a hair ring variant with an interwoven element. Also see the study by Pabst, who identified and mapped the Velem-Szentvid type hair rings with a false interweavement such as were also found in Graves 165 and 373 at Dobova (Pabst 2012, 413, Map 44.1).

²⁹ Pahič noted that the metal finds may not originate from the cemetery at Spodnje Radvanje (Pahič 1968, 23, Note 73, Pl. 4: 10; Teržan 1990, 337–338, Pl. 68: 10). Some objects published under that site were later ascribed to the Hočko Pohorje hoard, but the hair ring with an interwoven element was not included (see Pahič 1987; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 177).

³⁰ For such rings, see Pabst 2012, 413, Map 44.1.

Inhumation Grave 98

It was found at a depth of 120 cm during gravel extraction on 29 November 1961, on a plot where extensive rescue excavations had been conducted in the same year in advance of expanding the Dobova gravel pit. The grave was oriented east-west and measured approximately 180 cm in length. An amphora was found next to the head of the skeleton (*Fig. 8: 7*; Škalcr 1960–1961b, 226, Pl. IX: 1).³¹ The museum holds no skeletal remains from this grave, making radiocarbon analysis impossible.

Amphora with a high funnel neck

The amphora from Grave 98 has a funnel neck that is higher than the body (*Fig. 8: 7*).³² It is decorated with horizontal grooves on the shoulder and vertical grooves below the handles. This amphora type is distinctive in that the lower part of the handle is attached just above the maximum diameter.

Amphorae are common grave goods at Dobova. According to Dular's typo-chronological analysis of the cemetery, such amphorae occur in the Dobova III/Ha B1 and Dobova IV/Ha B2 phases (Dular 1978, 38). Dular noted that the amphorae from Dobova cannot be chronologically classified with precision, as they are often the sole grave good (Dular 1978, 42, Note 20). The amphora from inhumation Grave 98 has parallels at Dobova from cremation Graves 280, 305, 327 and 347 (Stare 1975, Pl. 42: 4; 44: 12; 45: 8; 50: 6; 68: 305, 347). In Grave 280, the amphora with slightly higher handles was associated with a dish with an inverted grooved rim, suggesting a Ha A date. The undecorated amphora from Grave 305 also has slightly higher handles, with the burial attributable to Ha A (see below) based on the associated goods and the new radiocarbon dating (*Fig. 10: 1–10, A*). Formally closest are the amphorae from Graves 327 and 347. The former only held the amphora, while the latter held the base sherd of another vessel and a piece of bronze wire.

At Obrežje, amphorae of this shape were identified as Type A2/1, all are undecorated with handles set slightly higher (Mason, Kramberger

2022, 78, *Fig. 32: A2/1*). Grave 40, in which such an amphora served as an urn, was dated to Ha A1 based on a violin-bow fibula (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 78, 85, 92). The two authors correlate this type with the amphorae from Graves 98 and 305 at Dobova, as well as that from Grave 56 at Pobrežje, and refer to Pahič, who attributed the vessel form to Ha A (Pahič 1972, 15, Pl. 12: 1). Also radiocarbon dated to the 12th century BC is the cremated bone sample from double Grave 15 at Slatina (*Fig. 6: Slatina, Grave 15 G, Slatina, Grave 15 F*), in which an undecorated amphora served as the urn for a child burial (Ložnjak Dizdarević et al. 2018, 92–93, 96–97, 102–103).³³ An amphora with a very high neck was found in a refuse pit at Orehova vas (Grahek 2015, 37, 184, *Fig. 30: G295–G296*). Similar examples are known from the Rogoza settlement (Črešnar 2010, 32, *Fig. 13: A3b–c*; Črešnar 2022, 79–80, *Fig. 71: A3b–c*), which is further evidence of such amphorae already in use during Ha A. Facetted and grooved amphorae are also known from the settlement at Majs–Boržnaja in southern Transdanubia, and dated to Ha A1–A2 and Ha A2/B1 (Weber 2017, 199–200, *Fig. 10: 1–3; 17: 2*). Weber correlated them with the single-handled vessels that Patek termed *Wasserkrüge* (Patek 1968, 97–99, Pl. 5: 1–5, 19) and listed other Ha A parallels. A similar amphora was also found in Grave 3 of the cemetery at Vâl (Petrescu 1960, 18, 26–27, Pl. XII: 5). Considering all the parallels, this type of amphora can be dated to Ha A and was no longer in use in Ha B.

Inhumation Grave 202

In the spring of 1960, the rescue excavation in Gomilice at Dobova was conducted between 24 March and 2 April. Stare reports that 46 cremations and one inhumation came to light during that campaign (Stare 1960–1961, 191). The cremations were published in the monograph under Nos. 183–201 and 203–229 (Stare 1975, 17, 31–32) and the inhumation is very likely Grave 202. In the brief report from 1960–1961, Stare mentions that the skeleton belonged to a woman buried in the prone position. He further writes that 'this inhumation again marks the boundary between two areas used by family groups for burying their dead' (Stare 1960–1961, 191).

³¹ This is unusual, as there are no known examples in Dobova of a complete inhumation from the Late Bronze Age that would include a vessel. The possibility of a double, biritual burial can therefore not be ruled out.

³² The upper part of the neck is a reconstruction.

³³ The amphora from Slatina has the neck lower than the body, as well as differently shaped handles.

The only object in Grave 202 was a ceramic spindle whorl (Fig. 8: 11). The Posavje Museum Brežice also holds individual uncremated remains, for which the anthropological analysis showed they belonged to the torso (fragments of ribs and vertebrae), shoulder girdle and extremities (radius, scapula, clavícula, humerus, ulna) of an adult, presumably a woman over the age of 17 (Fig. 5). A bone sample (KIA-54727) was radiocarbon dated to 936–817 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%) (Fig. 8: A).

Inhumation Grave 210

The Posavje Museum Brežice holds an inventory label marked '*Dobova 1960 skeletni grob 210 inv. št.*' (trans. 'Dobova 1960 inhumation grave 210 inv. no.'), which indicates that Grave 210 also held an inhumation. This grave revealed the sherds of a dish/cup and other fragments of two different vessels (Fig. 8: 8–10). A similar dish has been found in Grave 163 of the Ljubljana cemetery (Puš 1971, Pl. 25: 10; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, Fig. 4:70: 4a; Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, Pl. 81: 8), which also held sherds of other vessels, as well as a stone tool and a piece of a flat and fire-damaged bronze object – possibly an ingot (Škvor Jernejčič 2014b, 72–73, Pl. 81: 8–12; also see Turk, Svetličič, Pavlovič 2022, 124). Given its size, the vessel from Dobova is more likely a small dish, similar to those found in the Ha A2/B1 and Ha B graves from Ljubljana (Stare 1954b, Pl. V: 5; Puš 1982, Pl. 29: 1; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 59–60, Fig. 4.52: 6–7). Also similar are the small cups of Type Sk4/3 from Obrežje, where they were mainly recorded in Ha B graves, for which Mason and Kramberger mention parallels from Ha A settlement contexts at Rogoza and Orehova vas (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 87, Fig. 36: Sk4/3). Among the pottery sherds from Grave 210 at Dobova, the Posavje Museum Brežice keeps a cremated bone fragment, possibly suggesting a double – inhumation and cremation – burial.

Cremation Grave 305 and inhumation Grave 305a

A small vessel (Fig. 10: 11) in Grave 305 held several uncremated bone fragments that belonged to a humerus, ulna, femur and pelvis of an adult individual (Fig. 5); the bone assemblage was marked as inhumation Grave 305a (Stare 1975, 34). A bone sample from this grave (KIA-55142) and a cremated bone sample from Grave 305 (KIA-

55220) were radiocarbon dated to 1014–892 Cal BC and 1266–1046 Cal BC (2σ – 95.4%), respectively (Fig. 10: A–B; 14; also see '*Commentary on the radiocarbon dating*' below), indicating that the uncremated remains found in the vessel (Grave 305a) are at least a generation or two later than the cremated remains in Grave 305.

Cremation Grave 305 is among the richest burials of the necropolis in terms of the number of jewellery pieces. It held an amphora (see the '*Amphora with a high funnel neck*' section above), two torques, four bracelets and bronze buttons (Fig. 10: 1–8; also see Teržan 1999, 115, 119, Fig. 11).³⁴ One of the torques was plain, the other twisted. Also twisted was a small bracelet with spirally wound terminals, such as are common in the south Pannonian hoards from the Early Urnfield period, for example the Poljanci I, Pričac, Zagreb-Medvedgrad or Nova Bingula hoards (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 183, 187, Pl. 49: 5; 71: 34; 75: 7; Miklik-Lozok 2009, 17, Cat. Nos. 134–138, 140–141, 172; Garašanin, Tasić 1975, Pl. XXXV: 12,13) of Phase II according to Vinski-Gasparini, as Turk has also noted (Turk 2000, 74–75; Turk 2001, 257).³⁵ Parts of twisted bracelets may also be identified in the fragments in the hoards from Hočko Pohorje and Gorenji Suhadol in the Gorjanci hills (Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, 186, Pl. 79: 93; Pavlin, Stipančič 2023, 131, Tab. 1, Pl. 7: 8 with references). Parallels for the plain bracelets with spirally wound terminals also come from the Balatonmagyaród-Hídvégpuszta cemetery, specifically from Graves 15 and 24 (Boulud 2002, Pl. 18: 2; 43: 4–5). In Grave 24, the bracelet was associated with a pin featuring a sharply profiled biconical head of the so-called 'Czech' origin (*Nadel mit böhmischer Profilierung*) dating to the Initial/Early Urnfield period (Říhovský 1979, 153–159; Novotná 1980, 138–139). Such pins from Budapest-Békásmegyer are dated to Ha A2 (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 264, 297). Small bracelets with spirally wound terminals are known from Austrian sites, also attributed to the Early Urnfield period or Ha A (Lochner 1991,

³⁴ Teržan proposed an interesting hypothesis that the graves with a phalera and buttons may represent the costume of adult women, whereas buttons without a phalera indicate the burials of children or young individuals (Teržan 2016, 296), as is also suggested by Graves 289 and 305 from Dobova.

³⁵ The fragments from the Brodski Varoš and Mačkovec hoards are more likely to be small, twisted torques, such as those from Grave 305 at Dobova (Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 178, 181, Pl. 59: 11; 73: 27).

185, 188). Another such bracelet comes from the Budapest-Békásmegyer cemetery, where it was found alongside a biconical-headed pin in child Grave 151 (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 97, typological Tab. 15: 17; Pl. 68: 11). A combination of three smooth bracelets with spirally wound terminals, two decorated with incisions, and a bracelet with a rhomboid cross-section is known from Grave 258 at Dvorišče SAZU in Ljubljana, dated to Ha A2/B1 (Puš 1971, Pl. 52: 8–10; Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 123, Fig. 4.119: 5–6; 4.121: 1).

In its composition of two torques and four bracelets, Grave 305 from Dobova belongs to the first set of female attire as defined by Teržan (Teržan 1999, 115, 119, Fig. 10: Graves 6, 36; 11: II). The combination of torque and bracelet is only found in a few other graves at Dobova, which are all exceptional in their composition. Such a combination is rarely attested in graves also at other cemeteries, at Pobrežje, Ruše and Ljubljana, where it occurs in later contexts. At Obrežje, the combination of a necklace and bracelet, already dated to the Br D/Ha A1 phase, is only present in Grave 3, while all the remaining, albeit rare, graves are once again later (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 95, Fig. 40). This is a further indication that we are dealing with burials of exceptional character. Turk has suggested that the graves containing small, twisted bracelets with spirally wound terminals, which appear in the Early and Middle Urnfield period and span from eastern France to Pannonia, could be seen as burials of wealthy girls or women with a specific, possibly ritual status (Turk 2001, 124).

We should emphasise that all the mentioned bracelets are small (up to 4 cm in diameter), suggesting they belonged to infants or young girls. This hypothesis is supported by anthropological analyses. Grave 305 from Dobova, for example, held the remains of a child less than a year old (Fig. 5). A further example is Grave 151 from Budapest-Békásmegyer, where a 5 to 6-year-old child was buried (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 97).

The typo-chronological analysis and the new radiocarbon dating show that cremation Grave 305 can be dated to Ha A, i.e. the 12th century BC. The uncremated remains from the cup in Fig. 10: 11, however, are one or two generations later, dating to the 10th century BC or the Late Urnfield period.

Commentary on the radiocarbon dating

The sample of cremated bone from Grave 305 was sent for radiocarbon analysis twice. The first

result (KIA-54731) is 3338 ± 29 BP or 1689–1532 Cal BC ($2\sigma - 95.4\%$) (Fig. 7), which is much earlier than expected given the archaeological context. The second result (KIA-55220) gave the date of 2950 ± 35 BP or 1266–1046 Cal BC ($2\sigma - 95.4\%$) (Fig. 7; 10: A). The SF value for both samples is >5 and the carbon content does not exceed 0.5% by weight (Fig. 7). The second date does have a slightly higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value of $-15.9 \pm 0.3\text{‰}$, which could be the result of different factors such as diet, temperature, duration of cremation, type of fuel or wood used, and others, and does not necessarily indicate sample contamination (see Note 24).

Cremation Grave 354 and inhumation Grave 354a

The combination of cremated and uncremated remains of two different individuals was also found in Graves 354 and 354a (Stare 1975, 35). The uncremated remains belong to a child aged between 8.5 and 9.5 at death. The incidence of individual skeletal elements (Piontek, Tomazov-Ravnik, Štefančič 1975, 25) suggests this was likely a complete inhumation (Grave 354a). The anthropological analysis indicated that the difference in age estimated from the teeth and the bones might reflect nutritional deficiencies and stunted growth (Fig. 5). According to the monograph, this grave held no goods. The biconical vessel (Fig. 11: 1) is attributed to cremation Grave 354, the bones (two humerus fragments) from which belong to an adult individual (Fig. 5). Two samples were radiocarbon dated. The cremated bone from Grave 354 (KIA-54732) was dated to 1209–1016 Cal BC ($2\sigma - 95.4\%$) (Fig. 11: A), the uncremated bone from Grave 354a (KIA-54729) to 1015–859 Cal BC ($2\sigma - 90.4\%$) (Fig. 11: B). As with Graves 305 and 305a, the uncremated bone from Grave 354a is a generation or more later than the cremated bone.

A parallel for the vessel from the Dobova grave can be found in the Vál group at the Neszmély cemetery, in Grave 33 dated to the Ha B1 phase, which also contained a pin with a large vase-shaped head (Patek 1961, Pl. V: 1, 7, 9–10; Patek 1968, Pl. IV: 16; Pare 1998, 401, Fig. 46: B; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 97). This dating seems somewhat low, given the radiocarbon dating of the cremated bone from Grave 354. We can therefore not exclude the possibility that the vessel belonged to the inhumation burial of the child, i.e. to Grave 354a.

INHUMATION BURIALS FROM DOBOVA AND THEIR PLACE WITHIN THE COMMUNITIES OF THE URNFIELD CULTURE

The inhumations from Dobova have several common features. Grave 98 is tentatively identified as the earliest, at least based on the typochronological attribution of the amphora, though evidence is insufficient to draw any broader conclusions from it. The results of the radiocarbon dating suggest that the earliest inhumations date to the 10th century BC. Significantly, Grave 305a is not an ordinary inhumation burial, but rather represents secondarily transferred skeletal remains that were collected and deposited in a pottery vessel. Grave 354a probably holds a complete, albeit poorly preserved inhumation burial, though we should bear in mind that it is the burial of a child. Both Grave 305a and Grave 354a are respectively associated with an earlier cremation burial, with the relationship between them as yet insufficiently understood. The situation regarding inhumation Graves 98 and 210 is also uncertain. A complete inhumation burial in an extended position has been positively identified in Grave 97, with the deceased buried with hair rings with an interwoven element and the burial radiocarbon dated to the 9th century BC. The same dating applies to Grave 202, although we should note that the skeletal remains are either not entirely preserved or were only present in part already during burial. The presence of hair rings indicates we may date inhumation Graves 42 and 45 to the 9th century BC as well. New observations on inhumation burials have been highlighted in the publication of the recently excavated cemetery at Obrežje. Surprisingly, the data obtained here displays burial practices in the context of inhumation burials that is partly similar to that observed in the cemetery at Dobova.

Inhumation burials at Obrežje

The closest parallels for inhumations from Dobova within the context of urnfield cemeteries come from Obrežje, a site only located a few kilometres further south (Mason, Kramberger 2022, Fig. 7: 1, 24). This cemetery revealed 358 cremations, as well as inhumation Graves 81, 253/1–2 and 317 from the Bronze Age. Of the latter, four samples from the first two graves

were subjected to radiocarbon analyses (Fig. 12). Two radiocarbon dates³⁶ showed Grave 81 to be the earliest, dated between the 14th and the early 13th century BC (Fig. 12: Obrežje, Grave 81; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 59, 68, 116–117, 421, 664–665, Fig. 47, 53–54, 73–74). The grave contained the skeleton of a 6.5-year-old child (PN 12664) and the skull of another child of the same age without the lower jaw (PN 12663) (Nicholls 2022, 170).³⁷ The ancient DNA analysis of the skull (PN 12663) revealed it belonged to a boy (Fischer, Armit 2022, Fig. 162). The fill of the grave pit also revealed cremated remains, which the anthropological analysis attributed to a person over 45 years old, of undeterminable sex (Šlaus et al. 2022, 133). Excavated in the immediate vicinity of this inhumation were Graves 75, 80 and 82. Their pits correspond in shape and size to those expected for inhumations, but contained no bone remains with the exception of Grave 80, which held cremated bone fragments of an adult (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 68, Fig. 27; Šlaus et al. 2022, 132–133).³⁸

A combination of uncremated and cremated remains at Obrežje were also found in Grave 317 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 520, 844–845). Two anthropological analyses have been published. The first identified the uncremated remains as belonging to a person over 40 years old, of undetermined sex, while the cremated remains could not be identified in greater detail (Šlaus et al. 2022, 162). The second analysis showed the skeleton was that of an adult over 45 years old, presumably male. The ancient DNA analysis confirmed the individual was a man (Fischer, Armit 2022, 214, Fig. 162). The cremated remains were not analysed (Nicholls 2022, 171). The grave goods include a bronze pin with spirally coiled head

³⁶ The publication does not specify the bones sent for radiocarbon analysis, it only mentions SE 12664, which represents the fill of the grave pit, and notes that the SUERC-69432 sample was taken from the skeleton and the SUERC-69437 sample from the skull. It further states that both dates probably refer to the bones of the same skeleton (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 115, 122, Fig. 47).

³⁷ The fact that the age of both is the same raises the question of whether they are actually two individuals (twins?) or whether the skeletal remains belong to the same person.

³⁸ Several other graves at Obrežje cemetery are similar in shape and size (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 68); it is also noteworthy that some of the earliest cremations of the cemetery are located in their vicinity.

and a bronze button that date the burial to Ha B2/B3 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 68, 112, 218).

The two other burials from Obrežje of interest in connection with the inhumations from Dobova are Graves 253/1 and 253/2 (Fig. 13; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 792–793). Grave 253/2 contained the inhumation of an adult woman, over 45 years old, which the ancient DNA analysis confirmed (Nicholls 2022, 171; Fischer, Armit 2022, Fig. 162). The bone was radiocarbon dated to the 9th century BC (Fig. 13: B; Mason, Kramberger 2022, Fig. 47, 69). Placed at the feet of her skeleton was a small cup (Fig. 13: 3) filled with human remains marked as Grave 253/1. The anthropological analysis identified the remains from the cup as uncremated bones and teeth (Nicholls 2022, 171).³⁹ An uncremated tooth from the cup was radiocarbon dated to the 10th century BC, suggesting the grave predates the inhumation burial in Grave 253/2 (Fig. 13: A; Mason, Kramberger 2022, Fig. 47, 70). The 2022 publication includes the results of another anthropological analysis, which was conducted on three samples of cremated remains (Nos. 3477, 3486, and 3029.1) taken from the fill of the grave pit (Šlaus et al. 2022, 153). These indicate a cremation burial of an adult individual (Grave 252), in the same pit as the inhumation; the cremated remains were not radiocarbon dated and hence their age is unknown. Cremation Grave 252 was later dug into Grave 253/2 (Fig. 13: 1–2; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 494, 793). Interestingly, the ancient DNA analysis of the woman buried in Grave 253/2 revealed no steppe-related ancestry, which is highly unusual for this period and region (Fischer, Armit 2022, 214).⁴⁰

Complete and incomplete inhumations at Dobova and Obrežje – comparison and interpretation

The inhumations from Dobova and Obrežje represent unusual, exceptional burials within otherwise flat urnfield cemeteries of several hundred graves. Six new radiocarbon dates of these

inhumations confirmed their chronological placement in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 12; 14). Additional radiocarbon dates from the two cremation graves directly associated with two inhumations at Dobova (Graves 305 and 305a, 354 and 354a) have shown that the inhumations were secondary burials, postdating the cremations. These results raise many new questions on the burial practices of the Late Bronze Age communities, such as why certain individuals were inhumed and why their burial was associated with earlier cremation graves. The skeletal remains collected in a pottery vessel in Grave 305a at Dobova and the intentionally fragmented, uncremated remains found in a small cup in Grave 253/1 at Obrežje (Fig. 13) indicate deliberate transfer or even manipulation of skeletal remains. This raises questions as to the extent to which Late Bronze Age burial rituals involved excarnation,⁴¹ exhumation and storing human remains (outside cemeteries) before burial.

The child inhumation (double?) Grave 81 from Obrežje is radiocarbon dated to the 14th or early 13th century BC and thus significantly earlier than all other inhumations at Obrežje and Dobova (Fig. 6: Obrežje, Grave 81; 12: Obrežje, Grave 81). This earlier date sets it apart from all other inhumations at both sites.⁴² Moreover, no graves from later phases (Ha A1–A2) were found near Grave 81; burial only resumed here in Ha A2/B1.⁴³ It is possible that inhumation Grave 98 from Dobova is also earlier, as an amphora characteristic of Ha A (Fig. 8: 7) was found near the skeleton's head, though the available data is rather limited.⁴⁴ The new radiocarbon dates show that inhumation in

⁴¹ The ritual of excarnation has not been studied in Slovenian scientific literature. It is mentioned in connection with the skeletons from the cave of Ajdovska jama, which are dated to 4350–4200 BC (Turk 2023, 131). It is also not entirely clear whether the selected uncremated remains of several individuals from the stone tombs in the tumuli at Mušego (Istria) could be interpreted as evidence of excarnation (Teßmann 2022, 157).

⁴² Interestingly, inhumation Grave 81 at Obrežje is contemporaneous with or slightly later than the earliest cremations of the cemetery, e.g. Grave 220 (Fig. 6: Obrežje, Grave 220; 12: Obrežje, Grave 81; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 117, Fig. 52, 73–74). We can thus trace the phenomenon of contemporaneous inhumations and cremations from the Middle Bronze Age or Br B1 and Br B2/C1 (Teržan 1987, 66; Škvor Jernejčič 2020, 460, 483, Fig. 9) into Br C2.

⁴³ See in this volume Kramberger.

⁴⁴ As the excavation records did not survive and the Posavje Museum Brežice does not keep any bone remains, it is difficult to positively ascertain whether this is an

³⁹ Also see Nicholls 2017, 81, Fig. 4.12.

⁴⁰ The currently available data shows that the steppe component is only absent in the genetic record of the Copper and Bronze Age populations in Sardinia (see e.g. Scorrano et al. 2021, 226, 230, Fig. 2). For the stable isotope results, which also suggest the woman is of a foreign origin, see Nicholls 2017, 253.

the cemeteries at Dobova and Obrežje certainly appeared in the 10th century BC. Only for Grave 354a from Dobova can we speak of a potentially complete inhumation, of a child (*Fig. 5; 11*). In Graves 305a at Dobova and 253/1 at Obrežje, select remains were placed in small vessels, more precisely cups (*Fig. 10: 11; 13: 3*), which indicates that specific funerary rituals took place prior to burial proper. In Grave 253/1, the uncremated remains were intentionally crushed. Similarly, the bones (humerus, radius, femur, and pelvis fragments) in Grave 305a must also have been intentionally broken to fit into a cup only 10 cm wide.

It is unusual that both Grave 305a in a cup and the complete child burial in Grave 354a from Dobova are associated with earlier cremation Graves 305 and 354, which radiocarbon dating places a generation or more earlier than the related inhumations (*Fig. 10: A–B; 11: A–B; 14*). In contrast, the intentionally crushed uncremated remains in the cup from Grave 253/1 at Obrežje, dated to the 10th century BC, were found at the feet of the complete inhumation in Grave 253/2 radiocarbon dated to the 9th century BC (*Fig. 12; 13; Mason, Kramberger 2022, 140*). Dating to the 9th century BC also applies to the complete inhumation burial in Grave 97 at Dobova, most likely to the complete inhumation in Grave 202 at Dobova, as well as the complete inhumation burial in Grave 317 at Obrežje (*Fig. 15*). These examples indicate that complete inhumation within both cemeteries mainly occurred in the 9th century BC, whereas the uncremated remains from the 10th century BC had been secondarily transferred or even manipulated. Inhumation Graves 42, 45 and 210 from Dobova (*Fig. 8: 1–6, 8–10; 15*) can also be dated to the developed (?) phase of Ha B even though they were not radiocarbon dated and their more precise dating is difficult from grave goods alone.

The combined evidence obtained from the anthropological, ancient DNA and artefact analyses reveals it was primarily woman and children who were inhumed at both cemeteries, the only exception being Grave 317 of a man from Obrežje. Only in the case of inhumations from the 9th century BC do we find grave goods, that we could consider parts of the deceased's attire; three graves held pairs of bronze hair rings with an interwoven element, while one grave held a ceramic spindle

whorl (*Fig. 15*). As we have demonstrated, the hair rings represent hair or head jewellery characteristic of the attire in the Ljubljana, Ruše and especially Dobova Urnfield groups, and occur exclusively in cremation graves spanning from Ha A2/B1 to the end of the Late Bronze Age in Ha B3. Found in pairs or individually, they form part of Group IV of female funerary attire, a group that is most frequently attested exactly at the Dobova cemetery, when compared with other contemporaneous cemeteries at Pobrežje, Ruše and Ljubljana (Teržan 1999, 119, *Fig. 11: IV*). The only exceptions are the hair rings unearthed in inhumation Graves 42, 45, and 97 at Dobova, and in the settlement at Ivanovice na Hané, where an adult woman with rich jewellery was laid into a pit, possibly sacrificed (Parma et al. 2018). What is particularly striking is the prone position of her body. Such a burial position, considered unusual in different periods, was also recorded in inhumation Grave 202 at Dobova, in which the deceased was buried with a ceramic spindle whorl (*Fig. 8: 11, A*).⁴⁵ Unfortunately, we lack the data on the position of other skeletons at Dobova; there are only brief notes by France Stare that indicate inhumation Graves 42 and 202 may have marked the boundary between two areas/groups of cremations, possibly representing different families burying their deceased in the urnfield necropolis (Stare 1960–1961, 191). The position of the inhumation graves in the recently excavated cemetery at Obrežje shows a slightly more complex picture.⁴⁶ Grave 317, for example, was situated among different groups of earlier graves dated from Br C/D (Grave 271) and Ha A (Graves 268, 310, 357) to Ha A2/B1 (Graves 278, 331). However, no clear boundary can be observed between the groups of cremation graves in the area of inhumation burials. Grave 253/1–2 may be seen as forming part of a group of graves in the eastern section of the cemetery. The location and dating of individual graves rather suggest that the earliest, Grave 235 was the point around which later burials were placed over generations up to Ha B2/3, tracing a circular pattern.

The inhumations from Dobova and Obrežje have no parallels in the cemeteries of the south-eastern Alpine area, where cremation or urn burial pre-

inhumation or a double, biritual burial and whether the amphora was associated with the cremation burial or not.

⁴⁵ For burials in prone position, see e.g. Pauli 1975, 144, 175–179; Handler 1996; Reynolds; 2009; Perego 2014, 171, 174, Tab. 1; Perego, Tamori, Scopacasa 2020; Alterauge et al. 2020 with references.

⁴⁶ See in this volume Kramberger.

dominated in the Late Bronze Age. Furthermore, the area also yielded almost no parallels for inhumations in or near contemporary settlements,⁴⁷ such as are known in the area of the Knovíz culture in northern and north-western Czechia, in Moravia and Germany (Wiesner 2009, 150–161, 902–907).⁴⁸ Rare examples of inhumations within settlements from the 11th–9th centuries BC are known from sites in Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Zanoni 2011, 14–18, Tab. 7, Fig. 122 with references; Bianchin Citton, Balista, De Angeli 2015). Skeletons ‘thrown’ into a pit and dating to Ha B2/3 were also unearthed in the settlement at Stillfried in Austria, which the recent bioarchaeological research revealed not to be those of foreigners (Hellerschmid 2006; Retzmann et al. 2020; Griebel, Biederer 2022).

Even in the wider area, parallels for individual inhumations buried within urnfield cemeteries from the Urnfield period are relatively rare. Inhumation was recorded in the large urnfield cemetery at Budapest-Békásmegyer in Hungary (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010, 17, 140, Fig. 348–349, Pl. 103: 1–4). It is dated to Ha B2 and ranks among the latest burials of the cemetery, which partly relates it to the complete inhumation burials from the 9th century BC at Dobova and Obrežje that also represent one of the latest burials within respective cemeteries. Anthropological analysis has shown that the inhumation from Budapest-Békásmegyer was that of an adult man buried in an unusual, ‘frog’ position, with a large stone placed in the pelvic area; both the burial rite and the large stone indicate this was a special burial. A biritual grave – containing both uncremated and cremated remains – has been unearthed at Winklarn in Lower Austria and dated to Ha A1 based on the burial ritual (Miller, Novotny, Spannagl-Steiner 2019). This is one of the rare biritual graves from the period, as such burials are extremely rare within the Urnfield culture of central Europe (Wiesner 2009, 998, List 47).

⁴⁷ It is only after this article was submitted that a paper came out publishing an inhumation burial of an adult male interred in prone position in the settlement on Pungart above Ig, radiocarbon dated to the 10th century BC (Vojaković et al. 2024, 491, 493–494, 497, 506, Fig. 3, 4, 7). The skeleton of a newborn found at Jelenov klanec in Kranj has been dated to the beginning of the Early Iron Age (Pavlin et al. 2024, 169–170, Fig. 26–27).

⁴⁸ Also see the contributions in the proceedings in Müller-Scheessel (ed.) 2013.

Inhumations dated to *Bronzo finale* and thus partially contemporaneous with the graves at Dobova and Obrežje have also been discovered in the cemeteries at Frattesina (Narde I, Narde II and Fondo Zanutto) in Veneto, where urn burials predominate. Most of these inhumations held no grave goods, with the exception of those with hair rings (!), and are consequently more challenging to date (De Min 1986; Colonna 2006, 27–28, 40–41; Salzani, Colonna 2010, 182–183, 202–203, 300, Fig. 5, 68, Pl. 1: B; 10: A). The strontium isotope analyses revealed that the individuals buried in the inhumation graves at Narde were not foreigners, suggesting that the choice of burial rite was not necessarily linked to the origin of the deceased (Cavazutti et al. 2019, 633, Fig. 6). We should mention a concentration of inhumations from the 9th century BC within the cremation necropolises in western Veneto. Of these, the cemetery at Via Da Vinci-Palù near Oppeano revealed a single inhumation (Gonzato 2018, 57–59, 96–100, 118, Fig. 3) of a radiocarbon dating that makes it contemporaneous with the graves at Dobova and Obrežje from the 9th century BC. As one of the earliest burials in an otherwise cremation/urn cemetery, the burial of a presumably female individual in an unusual, prone position has been interpreted as a special burial of a person sacrificed to mark the beginning of a cemetery (Gonzato 2018, 99). The cremation cemetery at Gazzo Veronese-Ponte Nuovo, in use in the 10th and 9th centuries BC, included a child inhumation without grave goods (Salzani 2005, 34, Fig. 63, 65). Several inhumations were also excavated in the nearby cemetery at Gazzo Veronese-Colombara. The only one of these that can positively be dated to the 9th century BC is child Grave 142, which had urn Grave 143 later dug into the pit (Salzani, Morelato 2022, 127–129, 250, Fig. 127), similarly as in the case of Grave 253/1–2 at Obrežje.⁴⁹ Near Oppeano, the predominantly cremation cemetery at Le Franchine includes two prone inhumations, both without grave goods (Salzani 1985, 73–74, Fig. 91–92). Inhumations were also found in the cremation cemeteries at Este and Padova (Gamba, Voltolini 2018). The earliest inhumations in the cemetery at Emo Capodilista-Tabacchi in Padova date as early

⁴⁹ The other inhumation Graves 8, 37, 101, 147, 162, 164, 185, 189, 7/1986 from Gazzo Veronese-Colombara are without grave goods and can thus not be more precisely dated (Salzani, Morelato 2022, 28, 52–53, 97, 133–134, 143–146, 163–165, 177–178, Tab. 1; Canci 2022, Tab. 1).

as the 9th century BC (Gamba, Gambacurta, Ruta Serafini 2014, 23, 26, Pl. 47).

In the Dolenjska and Spodnje Posavje regions, significant changes in burial ritual only occurred with the onset of the Iron Age, when inhumation under tumuli appeared and gradually predominated within the Dolenjska Hallstatt group (Teržan 2020, 368; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2023, 613–614 with references). In connection with the appearance of inhumation, we should mention one of the early graves at Budinjak, in a necropolis known primarily for its Early Iron Age tumuli. Inhumation Grave 1 from Tumulus 98 reportedly held a bronze pin with a bulbous head characteristic of Ha A or Ha A2/B1 (Škoberne, Bugar 2017, 76–81, Fig. 7.4–7.6, Pl. 1: 2–3; Teržan 2020, 371).⁵⁰ Other pieces of attire included half of an iron torque, which is surprising given that grave goods of iron were extremely rare in Ha A2/B1 (see, e.g. Trampuž Orel 2012; Teržan 2017; Pare 2017; Škvor Jernejčič, Vojaković 2020, 155–156). Considering this dating, inhumation burial at Budinjak might have begun as early as the Late Urnfield period, suggesting that changes in the burial ritual were a lengthy process.

A recent synthesis on the burial practices between the southern Carpathian Basin and the western Balkans between the 11th and the 8th century BC has shown that inhumations in the Late Bronze Age, including the 9th century BC, are primarily to be found in the central Balkans between the Rivers Drina and Vrbas (Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2020, Fig. 3: 29–40 with references). A prolonged inhumation tradition is observable in the cemeteries of the Lika region, where inhumation is practiced alongside cremation in the Late Bronze Age (Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2020, Fig. 2: 25–27; 3: 55–57). Inhumation was also practised in the Sava-Danube interfluvium, at sites such as Zemun, Vrdnik, Šarengrad, Sotin and Vukovar (Gavranović, Ložnjak Dizdar 2020, Fig. 3: 22–28), which should primarily be understood in the context of innovations emerging in the Early Iron Age and of influences coming from the East.

There may be numerous reasons for the occurrence of complete and incomplete inhumations at Dobova and Obrežje in Ha B, and these reasons remain difficult to grasp even with the help of

the bioarchaeological evidence available thus far. The origin of the few inhumations at Dobova and Obrežje appears to have a complex explanation. Interestingly, most of these burials are those of women or children. Furthermore, the attire of the inhumed women exhibits local traditions, as the hair rings with an interwoven element are most common in the Dobova Urnfield group. The radiocarbon dating of the Dobova inhumations also prove that the cemetery was still in use in Ha B3 (9th century BC). Several previous studies have already indicated, more or less convincingly, that the last graves at Dobova might belong to Ha B3 (Belardelli, Giardino, Malizia 1990, 194, 195, 200, Fig. 78, Pl. 85: 3–10; Teržan 1995, 339, Note 49).⁵¹ What is surprising is the absence of bronze grave goods such as pins (Pabst 2012, 34, Note 115), fibulae⁵² and other pieces of female jewellery, characteristic of this phase.

The duration of burial all to the end of the Late Urnfield period has now also been attested for the Obrežje cemetery (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 58, 112–113). The example of double Grave 65 (Mason, Kramberger 2022, 219, 413–414, 644–647; Šlaus et al. 2022, 130) might even suggest that the youngest graves at Obrežje should be dated to the onset of the Iron Age. In it, the male outfit includes a socket (possibly part of a spearhead) and a large bronze knife with a socketed handle,⁵³ whereas the female jewellery, particularly the two fibulae and hair rings, still entirely respects the Urnfield tradition and belongs to Ha B. In contrast, the bronze knife may be seen as a harbinger of the Initial Iron Age. Similar socketed knives of different types are known from cemeteries in northern Italy and can be attributed to the beginning of the Early Iron Age or *Primo Ferro* 2, i.e. the late 9th and the 8th century BC (Bianco Peroni 1976, 45–49, Pl. 23–27; also see Tovoli 1989, 290, Pl. 52: 70, 115: 183). Most related to the example from Obrežje

⁵⁰ For pins, see Blečić Kavur 2014, 72 pp, Fig. 40; cf. also Gutjahr, Windholz-Konrad 2024, 643–647, Tab. 1: Grave 42, Pl. 6: 27, 29, where the radiocarbon date of Grave 42 from Kainach that held such a pin is also published (late 12th/first half of the 11th century BC).

⁵¹ Dular dated the end of burial to Dobova IV/Ha B2/Ljubljana Ib (after Gabrovec) (Dular 1978, 38, 41, Fig. 3). Pare placed it in Ha B3/Ljubljana Ib (after Gabrovec), i.e. in the 9th century BC, and noted a pottery sherd from Grave 182 that supposedly bears stamped decoration in the *Insula Banului* style (Pare 1998, 405, Tab. 5; also see Jevtić 1994, 140, Pl. VIII: 1).

⁵² For a comparison between the fibulae from Dobova and those from Ljubljana – Dvorišče SAZU, see Škvor Jernejčič 2014a, 244, Fig. 7.1.

⁵³ It is possible that the knife belonged to a woman, as did the knife in rich Grave 155 in Brežec (Ruaro Loseri et al. 1977, Pl. XV: 48).

is a knife from an unknown site in Veneto, which is of the S. Stefano type (Bianco Peroni 1976, Pl. 27: 203). A similar knife was unearthed in the cemetery at Brežec, although we do not know its exact context (Ruaro Loseri *et al.* 1977, Pl. XXI: XXI/1). A very similar undecorated socketed knife was found in a tumulus above Warmbad Villach/Beljaške toplice, together with a sword, a razor and two pins in a rich double grave dated to the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the late 9th or first half of the 8th century BC, which corresponds with the Ljubljana II phase. This is also the time frame for the grave from Padova that held such a knife together with a conical-headed pin (Müller-Karpe 1953; Říhový 1972, 73, Pl. 45: D; Gamba, Gambacurta, Ruta Serafini 2014, 179–180, Pl. 38).⁵⁴

Evidence shows that burial in the cemeteries at Dobova and Obrežje ceased at the very end of the Late Urnfield period or even in the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The radiocarbon-dated inhumations from the 9th century BC at Dobova

thus currently represent the last burials of the cemetery. Whether these burials might even be the reason for the end of burial in this area must remain open for now.

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⁵⁴ For the dating of the grave from Warmbad Villach/Beljaške toplice, see Gleirscher 2008; for the male burials with weapons from the beginning of the Early Iron Age, see Škvor Jernejčič 2014d, 145–147, 149, Tab. 1.

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